

Proceedings 2002

Selected Papers from the
Sixth College-Wide Conference
for Students in Languages, Linguistics & Literature

University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

edited by Kimberli Hales & Angela Terveen, main editors;
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under the direction of Marie-Christine Garneau

published by



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PREFACE

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The sixth annual conference for graduate students in the College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature was held in April of 2002 at the University of Hawaii, Mānoa campus. The keynote address was delivered by Katarzyna Dziubalska-Kolaczyk from the School of English, Adam Mickiewicz University of Poznań, Poland, Senior Fulbright Professor in the Department of Linguistics at the University of Hawaii, Mānoa during the academic year 2001-2002.

The large number of presenters and participants proves that this 2002 conference succeeded in maintaining a now established tradition within the College to open a forum where graduate students, faculty, and members of the community at large can gather to share ideas. The first objective of this year's conference, as defined by its committee, was to focus on the rigorous timing of talks by duly instructed moderators. The second objective was to publish its proceedings in the most expeditious fashion. For the first time, the deadline for submissions was set early to allow the completion of the whole editing process before the end of the semester. These strict measures, instead of reducing the number of submissions, stimulated students. The number of talks, forty-two in total, and the submissions presented in this issue, twenty-two, set a record for graduate conferences in the College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature at the University of Hawaii, Mānoa.

The conference featured work from the students of the many departments within the College. The abundant selection in the present volume reflects the creativity and the diversity of interests of the students who participated. Their work ranges from French novel, English theater to pedagogy and phonology.

The graduate student conference and the proceedings were made possible thanks to the unfaltering support and commitment to excellence of the College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature, Dean Joseph O'Mealy, Associate Dean Jean Toyama and Marie-Christine Garneau, Advisor of this year's conference.

The editors wish to extend their gratitude to the 2002 conference committee chairs Tomoko Kozasa and Tomoko Miyakoshi, the committee members representing the departments of languages, linguistics and literatures, and the presenters, moderators, and participants for a successful conference.

I. East Asian Languages and Literatures

ASSESSMENT STRATEGY BY NS and NNS INTERACTION

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ABSTRACT

The following study explores how non-native speakers of Japanese who have extensive contact with Japanese NSs, and those who are not exposed to interaction with Japanese NSs, establish common ground to display mutual understanding and co-alignment in interaction with Japanese NSs in Japanese discourses by continuers and assessments.

1. Introduction

Many researchers have discussed "talk" in interaction within the framework of conversation analysis (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974, Schegloff 1982, Heritage 1984). Using conversational analysis as a framework, Strauss and Kawanishi(1996) examined the phenomenon of assessments as a conversational activity across three languages: Japanese, Korean, and American English. In the study, they found that when the interlocutor characterizes the primary speaker's feelings and inner states, assessments, which indicate empathy, appear to be achieved more directly in Japanese than in the other languages. Furthermore, high occurrences of repetitions, such as either identical or re-formulated repetitions of the primary speaker's utterances, were observed in Japanese conversation. With regard to Continuers, Schegloff (1982) defines them as a kind of back channel by which the listener encourages the speaker to continue a talk. Following Schegloff's study, Maynard (1986) examined the phenomenon of back channels in Japanese. She found that back-channel responses occur more frequently in Japanese discourses than in American English discourses. Due to these differences, we hypothesize that non-native speakers of Japanese (NNSs) have difficulties in giving assessments and continuers as frequently as Japanese native speakers (NSs). Because of NNSs' L1 English pragmatic transfer; NNSs may not produce frequent continuers and assessments. In addition, cultural factors should be considered in accounting for NNSs' usage of continuers and assessments. Clancy (1999) discusses that in culturally specific ways, the outcome of language socialization is the shaping of affect in language. Namely, children learn how to express affect in language by being socialized in a community. However, for adult learners, it seems rare to be taught how to express shared affect in a foreign language classroom. Therefore, we hypothesize that Japanese as a foreign language (JFL) adult learners who are exposed to interaction with Japanese native speakers extensively outside the classroom may have more native-like ability to demonstrate continuers and assessments than non-native speakers of Japanese who do not have contact with Japanese native speakers outside the classroom. This study examines two types of Japanese language learners; non-native speakers of Japanese who have extensive contact with Japanese NSs and those who do not interact with Japanese NSs in Japanese. The aim of the study is to examine how both types of learners evaluate events, situations, and inner states, and to see how they establish common ground and display mutual understanding and co-alignment in interaction with Japanese NSs in Japanese discourses using continuers and assessments¹.

2. Background Review

2.1 Continuers

Schegloff (1982) defines continuers as a kind of back channel by which the listener encourages the speaker to continue talking. This signals to the speaker that the speaker's turn to talk should continue. Continuers indicate that the listener conveys an understanding, and that an extended unit of talk is in progress. Schegloff (1982) analyzes that 'uh huh,' which is an example of continuers, frequently connects the end of one unit and the beginning of a next unit. The example is indicated below:

Example 1:

Shu: *boku no heya, s:oo demo nakat::ta-n desu* [yo.

TMKen: [ee.

Shu: *=tte iu ka maa()* *taoreru mono wa subete taoreta-n desu kedo ne?*

TMKen: ee.

(Strauss and Kawanishi 1996: 152)

Shu: My room was not that badly (damaged).

Ken: [Yeah.

Shu: =or well () All of the things which can fall just fell, but.

Ken: Yeah

In this data, Shu moves to the next unit, while Ken is still producing 'ee (uh-huh),' acknowledging receipt of the prior utterance. Schegloff (1986) clarifies this function as a display by recipients that they are prepared for movement to a new unit. Thus, the speaker's moving to a new turn unit is appropriate for him/her to do while the recipient's 'ee' is in progress. It should be noted that 'ee' does not necessarily begin within one turn unit and end in another. However, while the recipient's 'ee' is in progress, a speaker can move to a new turn-constructural unit. In other words, a speaker treats 'ee' precisely as a signal to continue.

With regard to back-channels in Japanese, Maynard (1986) conducted the research on back-channel behavior in Japanese and English casual conversation. Maynard categorizes five functions of back-channels: 1) continuer, 2) display of understanding of content, 3) support and empathy toward the speaker, 4) agreement, and 5) strong emotional purpose. She also states that back-channel responses occur more frequently in Japanese than in American situations, and discourse context for back-channel behavior in the two speech communities differs significantly. In her Japanese data, back-channel behavior occurs more frequently along with particles, such as 'ne,' and head movements, whereas in English, back-channel behavior occurs less frequently. Maynard (1986) further discusses that the high frequency of back-channel supports the preoccupation of the Japanese people: a conflict-avoiding and harmonious style of social interaction. Japanese people show harmony with the interlocutors using back-channels. It should be examined to see if JFL learners who are English NSs are likely to use back-channels frequently with the Japanese NSs in Japanese.

2.2 Assessments

One activity that both speakers and recipients perform within the turn is evaluating persons and events being described in some fashion within their talk. Strauss and Kawanishi (1996:150) define "assessment" as "an interactive activity, which involves the expressed evaluation of some entity, event, situation, or state." Goodwin (1986) cites a similar concept, explaining that an assessment refers to clarifying responses, which assess the primary speakers' talk. The example is shown below:

Example 2:

5 Hyla: One time I member, hh 's girl wrote end her, hh she wz like(.)
Fiftenn er sixteen end her mother doesn let'er wear

6 TMNancy: Uh hu:h,

7 Hyla: 'hh mail polish er sh(h) ort ski::rts
'er : :: hhhhhhhhhhhh

8 TMNancy: [Oh. Wo(h)w.] (Goodwin 1986:210)

In Example 2, Nancy (Line 8) assesses what Hyla said by treating it as something remarkable rather than simply acknowledging receipt of the talk just heard.

Straus (1995) provides the following example of a Japanese assessment:

Example 3:

9 Mari: *hondana to hon ga kao ni ochite* [kichatta.

10 Ken: [kawai na hidoi na sore.

(Strauss 1995: 177)

Mary: the bookshelf and books fell toward her face

Ken: how scary, that's awful.

Ken uses '*na*' as a variation of '*ne*.' The affective particle '*ne*,' which indicates affective common ground (Cook 1992) is frequently shown in assessments. Ken reacts to Mari's experience by expressing aligning assessments. Thus, alignment is the usual response when an interlocutor produces an assessment.

With regard to the connection between assessments and social organization, Goodwin and Goodwin (1987) explicate that assessments show a view of the assessable as something perceived by an actor who both takes up a particular alignment to it and sees the assessable from a particular perspective. As assessments are achieved through the collaborative action of multiple participants, assessments provide an elementary example of social organization within the boundaries of the turn. In addition, assessments provide an example of how the displays of emotion are expressed in interactive phenomena. That is, participants may pay close attention to what other participants are doing, or what is happening in the discourse.

Strauss and Kawanishi (1996) compared conversations between pairs of Japanese, Korean, and American English native speakers who experienced the 1994 Northridge Earthquake. They found extended assessment activity² to be more common in Japanese than in Korean and English. In Japanese, empathy seems to be achieved intuitively when the interlocutor frequently shares the primary speaker's feelings and inner states, i.e. emotion. Assessments which indicate empathy play a significant role for social organization in Japanese. It should be examined whether the assessment activity is observed in NS-NNS interaction in Japanese as well.

Ohta (1999) examined the role of the interactional routines in the socialization of L2 interactional competence by analyzing JFL classroom data. In the study, Ohta analyzed the extended assessments. She observed a learner's acquisition path of NE marked aligning assessments in Japanese through pair-work. At first, the learner did not produce such an assessment even if her teacher was using it frequently in the class. In teacher-fronted contexts, learners are guided to respond to the teacher's questions and they had little opportunity to express assessments. However, through pair-work interactions with other peer students, she gradually started to express assessments. Clearly, the interactional routines of the classroom have a profound impact on the acquisition of aligning assessments. Pair work provides students with opportunity to produce interactional routines that they have participated in peripherally in teacher-fronted discourses. Thus, in Ohta's longitudinal data analysis, as the teachers incorporate various expressions of assessments through interactional routines, learners seem to be able to produce assessments to express their inner feelings.

3. Methodology

The database for this study consists of a total of 4 discourses between native speakers of Japanese and non-native speakers of Japanese. Each pair's talk lasts thirty minutes. The conversational pairs consist primarily of graduate students and undergraduate students at the University of Hawaii who were previously unacquainted with their partners. All four NNSs are enrolled in the fourth-year Japanese reading course, which meets three times a week. They are almost at the same language proficiency level in the class. Follow-up interviews were carried out to see if they received explicit instruction regarding continuers and assessments. According to the follow-up interviews, none of NNSs received explicit instruction regarding assessments. The NNSs were categorized into two groups. Two of the NNSs, Jane and Mary (pseudonyms), are exposed to contact with Japanese NSs outside the classroom, whereas the other two NNSs, Mike and Emily (pseudonyms), do not have opportunities to interact with Japanese NSs outside the classroom. More specifically, Jane has a roommate who is a Japanese native speaker; thus, she has chances to talk with her Japanese roommate almost every day. Mary regularly meets and speaks Japanese with her Japanese friend, who is learning English. The following table shows all pairs of the NSs and NNSs.

Table 1. The pairs of NSs and NNSs (All names are pseudonyms.)

Pair	Non-native speakers of Japanese (NNS:JFL learners in JPN 401)		Native speakers of Japanese (NS)	
Pair 1	Jane	Female Contact with her Japanese roommate every day	Taka	Male Graduate student at UH
Pair 2	Mary	Female Contact with her Japanese friend almost every weekend	Aiko	Female Graduate student at UH
Pair 3	Mike	Male No contact with Japanese NSs outside the classroom	Kana	Female Graduate student at UH
Pair 4	Emily	Female No contact with Japanese NSs outside the classroom	Mina	Female Undergraduate student at UH

In order to keep the affected cultural fact to the minimum, care was taken to assure that the NNSs have not lived in Japan for more than one month, and also that the NSs have not lived in the US for more than five years.

All participants were told to discuss what they like about living in Hawaii, what was the most shocking experience they had, what was the most interesting experience they had, etc. In addition, they were encouraged to talk about any shared interests they have. For example, both Japanese NS and Japanese NNS have studied Korean. Needless to say, the particular linguistics phenomena that I would like to investigate were not mentioned to the participants, but they were told the topics that they would discuss. I will qualitatively analyze the conversations regarding continuers and assessments.

4. Analysis³

4.1 Continuers which encourage a speaker to continue to talk

In the following example, Taka, who is taking anthropology class, talks about the reasons why he became interested in studying anthropology. Jane says *un* and *aa* to show involvement in Taka's talk.

Excerpt 1:

- 1 Taka: *jinruigaku ni kyoomi ga atta no[de, sorede hajimeyoo to omot[te*
 2 Jane: [un
 3 Taka: *iya, motto benkyoo shitai tte iu kimochi ga atte* [aa
 4 Jane: aa

In Excerpt 1 above, Taka keeps the floor while Jane is still acknowledging receipt of Taka's prior utterance. As Goodwin (1986) indicates, '*un* (yeah)' and '*aa* (I see.)' function as a display by recipients that they are prepared for movement to the new unit. Jane's '*un*' and '*aa*' do not occur just anywhere within the turn but rather occur at the boundaries of turn relevant points (TRPs). It demonstrates that one unit has been received and that another is now awaited. Taka treats Jane's '*un*' and '*aa*' as signals to allow him to continue to the next turn. This may be interpreted that while Jane's '*un*' and '*aa*' are still in progress, Taka's moving to a new turn construction unit is proper and appropriate for him to do.

While Jane uses continuers, Mike, who has no contact with Japanese NSs outside the classroom, seems not to use continuers such '*un*' and '*aa*' as frequently as other NNSs, Jane and Mary. Mike asks Kana what she does not like about living in Hawaii.

Excerpt 2:

- 5 Kana: *amerika no seikatsu de ichiban muzukashii koto desu ka. (1.0)*
 6 *ima moo sekando hoomu mitai ni natchatteru kana(.) H nan ni mo*
 7 *muzukashiku nai desu yo.*
 8 Mike: *aa.*
 9 Kana: *demo yappari huben na koto wa Heigo ga sekando rangeeji dakara, H*
 10 *nan demo hanasanakucha ikenai shi::: H hanasu koto wa ii n desu*
 11 *kedo, H peepaa toka::, jikan ga kakaru %shi°.*
 12 Mike: *aa.*

In Excerpt 2, Mike uses only two back-channels. H indicates the TRPs where Mike could have said 'un' and 'aa.' Mike does not employ continuers such as 'aa' and 'un' as often as the NSs. There are several possible reasons to account for this phenomenon. Mike might fail to say 'un' and 'aa' appropriately and may not know when he should say them, because of the difficulties of Kana's sentence structures. In English, continuers function as a signal of attention and understanding (Maynard 1996). If Mike does not understand Kana's utterances, he may not be able to employ continuers and he is struggling to comprehend Kana's utterances. Or, he might merely have gazed at Kana to show involvement, so Kana would continue to the next turn-constructed unit. Another reason might be that he avoids saying 'un' and 'aa' to prevent overlapping Kana's utterances. Maynard (1986) states that harmonious style of social interaction is an important characteristic of the Japanese way of communication. However, not overlapping the primary speaker may be considered as a harmonious style of communication in American English.

4.2 Assessment

Goodwin and Goodwin (1987:173) explicate that "the study of assessments permits analysis, in an integrated fashion, of a range of phenomena relevant to the organization of language, culture, cognition, and emotion in actual interaction." Based on this point, I will analyze the NS-NNS interactions within the framework of discourse analysis.

4.2.1 Assessments which indicate agreement

One of the functions of assessments is to indicate agreement. In the following excerpt, Jane tells Taka what she likes about living in Hawaii.

Excerpt 3:

- 13 Jane: *minna yasashii node=*
 14 Taka: *=un un*
 15 Jane: *nanka ano chotto yanwari shiteiru? (0.5) to omoimasu yo.*
 16 Taka: *[(hh)]*
 17 Jane: *minna mondai nai tte iu kangaekata ga aru kana::, soo iuu no*
 18 *huniki ga[ii,*
 19 Taka: *[aa kiraku na kanji=*
 20 / Jane: *=soo soo soo.*
 21 Taka: *boku mo soo omoimasu ne. nihon kara kiteite, tokuni, boku wa*
 22 *tookyoo no shusshin dashi, oosaka de sarariiman de isogashii(.)*
 23 *isogashii tte iu, nanteiuuka:: koko e kitara, soo iu huniki ga(hh)*
 24 Jane: *huun.*
 25 Taka: *ato tenki ga ichinenjuu iika.a 11 gatsu ni natte mo, seetaa*
 26 *kinakutemo iishi[::*
 27 / Jane: *[soo soo soo(hh)*

In line 20 and 27, Jane provides assessments to show agreement with Taka's prior utterances. She expresses alignment to Taka. This alignment reveals the way Jane evaluates the phenomena she perceives. That is to say,

Jane displays agreement to Taka's utterances. It plays an important role in both participants establishing common ground. In Mike and Emily's utterances, however, this kind of assessment was not observed.

4.2.2 Assessments which make congruent understanding visible

Assessments express a listener's understanding and affect toward a speaker. Thus, the speaker has a clue about what a listener is thinking of his/her utterances. In Excerpt 4, Aiko tells Mary about her most exciting experience in India. Mary provides assessments to her experience by saying line 29 and 31.

Excerpt 4:

- 27 Aiko: *nokori no mikkakan soko ni i/te*
 28 / Mary: [SUGOOI::
 29 Aiko: *sore wa sugoku omoshirokute=*
 30 / Mary: =SUGOOI!

Mary's assessments make her inner feeling toward Aiko's experience visible. She expresses alignment with Aiko's exciting experience in line 29 and 31. Therefore, this datum reveals that, in this fashion, both the NS and the NNS establish common ground by assessments.

In Kana and Mike's pair, however, the assessments were remarkably absent in Mike's utterance. In the following excerpt, Mike asks Kana if she cooks.

Excerpt 5:

- 30 Mike: *roo, roori ga suki desu* [ka.
 31 Kana: [ryoori suki desu. Mainichi shite imasu.
 32 Mike: *H(1.0) donna ryoo(.) ri ga suki desu ka.*
 33 Kana: *nan demo tsukuri masu yo. Nihon ryoori mo tsukuru shi, nimono toka*
 34 *mo tsukurimasu.*
 35 Mike: *H(0.5) aa.*
 36 Kana: *nan demo chuuka ryoori mo tsukuru shi, yooshoku? Yooshoku mo*
 37 *Tsukurushi. Uchino okaasan, haha ga sugoi ryoori ga sukide, oshiete*
 38 *moratte, ato, imawa haha wa nihon ni sunde iru kara. Watashi ga*
 39 *jibun de tsukuranakya ikenai n de.: (0.5) tanoshii desu yo. Ato beikingu*
 40 *mo suki desu.*
 41 Mike: *Haa.*

H indicates the TRPs where Mike could have assessed Kana's cooking habits. The majority of Japanese people may be expected to say 'hee (oh, wow)' or 'sugoi desu ne (It is great, isn't it?)'. Instead, Mike uses continuer strategy saying 'aa,' so Kana continues to take her turn. It seems that Mike does not show alignment, thus, they fail to establish common ground.

In Excerpt 6, extended assessment activity is observed in the discourse between Jane and Taka. Jane tells Taka her most shocking experience. Taka assesses Jane's shocking experience.

Excerpt 6:

- 42 Jane: *resutoran ni 5 jikan kurai komofte*
 43 / Taka: [hoo. *Sore wa shocking desu yo.*
 44 *kotoshi no haruyasumi?*
 45 Jane: *uun. Ototoshi.*
 46 / Taka: *hee. U(hh) sugoku kowai.*
 47 / Jane: *un, sugoku kowai.*

After Jane explains her shocking experience in line 44, Taka provides assessments in lines 44 and 47. Jane also aligns with the affect expressed in Taka's assessment in line 48 by repeating it. In line 49, extended assessment

In Excerpt 7, however, Emily, who does not have extensive contact with Japanese NPs, seems not to make extended assessments. The following excerpt contains Mina's assessment of Emily's Japanese learning experience.

48 Mina: doo desu ka? Hawaii daigaku no nihongo wa?
49 Emily: muzukashii=
50 Mina: =muzukashii desu ka.
51 Emily: to omoukedo, tanoshii desu. disukasshon toka.
52 [Mina: hee, omoshiro soo desu ne. .
53 [Emily: (1.5) hawai ni dore gurai iru n desu ka.

In line 60, Aiko assesses that Korean language is interesting because of its similarity to Japanese. Then, Mary repeats Aiko's previous assessment '*omoshiroi* (interesting)' twice. The second echoing assessment '*omoshiroi*' was produced with reduced volume. Line 60 and 61 indicate the degree of mutual awareness between the participants. Mary shows empathy to Aiko by repeating Aiko's initial utterance in line 61. Also, while Mary's initial echoing assessment was produced toward her co-participant, Mary's second echoing assessment is done while she is displaying diminished participation in the activity, and seems to be withdrawing from it. Mary's second echoing assessment (line 61) triggers the closing of a topic. In fact, in line 62, Aiko starts to move to a new topic by asking Mary what other languages she is studying. That is, Aiko also acknowledges Mary's diminished involvement by closing the topic. As we see in Excerpt 8, the NNS uses echoing assessment, which is one of Japanese discourse features (Strauss and Kawanishi 1996). The NNS and the NS finish the topic collaboratively by repeating the same assessment.

In Excerpt 9, however, the NS and the NNS do not close the topic collaboratively. Kana asks Mike what he usually does in his free time. Kana assesses Mike's habit positively.

Excerpt 9:

- 63 Kana: Mike-san wa nani o hima na toki nani o shimasu ka.
 64 Mike: uuun (1.0) spootsu (0.5) tatoeba sakkaa toka.
 65 Kana: un
 66 Mike: saafin toka ano jitensha ni noru koto ga suki desu.
 67 Kana: kenkoo teki desu ne. karada ni ii desu ne.
 68 Mike: ((long pause))
 69 Kana: hawaii wa biichi ni chikai shi, ii° desu ne. °
 70 Mike: (1.0) ano, eiga toka wa suki desu ka.

In line 68, Kana provides the assessment toward Mike's outdoor activities positively. However, in line 69, Mike pauses and does not even respond to Kana's assessment. The extended assessment activity does not occur. Thus, Mike's no-response to Kana's assessment causes Kana to take a turn-constructed unit in line 70. This excerpt reveals that not only assessment itself but the response after assessment, i.e., the extended assessment, seems to play an important role in establishing common ground. As Excerpt 9 shows, Mike does not give any verbal reaction, such as 'soo desu ne (That's right.)' toward Kana's prior assessment. In other words, Mike seems not to show explicit alignment toward Kana's assessment. It appears that the NS and the NNS do not finish the topic collaboratively due to the absence of the NNS's extended assessment activity.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

The result of analysis of continuers and assessments revealed that these strategies are more observed in the NNSs who have frequent contact with Japanese NSs than the NNSs who have no contact with Japanese NSs. It indicates that a learner's environment seems to play an important role in the demonstration of continuers and extended assessment strategy. Interestingly enough, Jane who interacts with NSs extensively outside the classroom commented that she frequently observed Japanese NSs' assessment activity by interacting with her Japanese roommate and the instructor in her class. She was exposed to peripheral participation widely in performing assessment strategy. In other words, she shows recognition of the assessment activity by engaging in interaction with NSs implicitly. That is, Jane appears to show metapragmatic development and learn the assessment activity through social interaction with Japanese native speakers. This is relevant to Vygotskian sociocultural approach, in which learners first engage in problem-solving through interacting with other more capable peers, and then gradually become to deal with problem-solving independently.

As the excerpts in this study show clearly, demonstrating the assessment activity seems to be very important in becoming a competent learner of Japanese. Through social interaction with NSs, JFL learners may acquire communicative competence in performing the assessment activity.

Conversely, the NNSs who do not have frequent contact with Japanese NSs outside the classroom failed to perform continuers and assessments in a native-like fashion. It is possible that the NNSs who do not have contact with Japanese NSs outside the classroom may not be able to understand what the NSs uttered completely, even though their proficiency levels are almost the same. The NNSs who do not have contact with Japanese NSs may not have developed the listening skills shown by the NNSs who are exposed to interaction with Japanese NSs. It leads to the conclusion that the NNSs who do not have contact with Japanese NSs extensively are likely to fail at providing assessments. In addition, personality might be taken into account. In fact, Jane and Mary provided more assessments than Mike and Emily. Thus, it is likely that if more subjects had been observed, we would have seen more variations in the data.

Due to a few number of tokens and restricted data, the differences observed in this study cannot be validated. It will be the objective of future studies to find out how NNSs' language environments and classroom interaction affect their assessment strategy and language socialization. Also, it should be examined whether the same NNSs who do not have contact with Japanese NSs in this study use the continuers and assessment strategies in their L1 English. If the same result is observed, one might attribute this to their L1 pragmatic transfer.

A pedagogical implication of this study seems to be that JFL learners might acquire more native-like ability to give assessments and continuers if they are introduced and demonstrated this assessment strategy in the classroom. At this point, explicit pragmatic instruction may be more significant in the classroom, so that language socialization enables learners to shape affect in the target language. In other words, JFL learners should learn how to express affect in Japanese by socializing with the instructor. In this study, the subjects, Jane and Mary, who had extensive contact with Japanese native speakers successfully employed continuers and assessments. In other words, they implicitly acquired these strategies. If JFL learners are taught explicitly⁴ these strategies, they may acquire more native-like ability to give assessments and continuers.

In the classroom context, learners' use of assessments clearly results in the production of extended assessment activity by the classroom teachers. As the excerpts in my data show, the extended assessment activity seems to play an important role in Japanese communication. Through extended assessment activity, learners learn to participate in a linguistically constituted activity of importance in the Japanese-speaking community (Ohta 1999). Therefore, it may be more useful for teachers to give explicit instruction regarding assessment strategy, give JFL learners opportunity to develop the expression of affect, and then to provide learners with the opportunity to participate in the activities in which they practice the use of assessments. Thus, explicit instruction of assessment activity and creating opportunities for learner participation in the expression of assessments might be a powerful force in the socialization of appropriate interaction styles.

Transcription Conventions:

[the point at which the current talk is overlapped by other talk
(0.0)	length of silence in seconds and tenths of seconds
(.)	micro-pause
<u>underlying</u>	relatively high pitch
CAPS	relatively high volume
::	noticeably lengthened sound
-	sudden cut-off of the current sound
=	"latched" utterances, with no interval between them
?	rising intonation
.	falling intonation
,	continuing intonation
()	unintelligible stretch
(())	comments by the transcriber
hh	audible outbreath
.hh	audible inbreath
(hh)	laughter within a word
> <	increase in tempo, as in a rush-through
o o	a passage of talk which is quieter than the surrounding talk

NOTES

1. Back-channels including continuers focuses on a listener's role, whereas assessments focus on a speaker's role. They may overlap functionally; however, in this study, I distinguish back-channels from assessments. Also, regarding back-channels, I will use Schegloff's terminology "Continuers," which are one of the functions in back-channels.
2. Goodwin and Goodwin (1987) define extended assessment activity as an interactional routine in which expression of affect is heightened when an assessment produced by one speaker is followed by an aligning assessment produced by another interlocutor.
3. English versions of the excerpts are appended.
4. In fact, Tateyama et. al (1997) report the result of effectiveness of explicit teaching of pragmatic expression. They compared two groups (one with explicitly taught the meaning of pragmatic expressions and the other with only implicitly exposed to them) and looked at the learner use of expressions and found the out the group with explicit instruction did better.

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WRITE A NOTE TO YOUR TEACHER: PRAGMATICS OF JAPANESE WRITTEN COMMUNICATION

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ABSTRACT

The idea that language is context-bounded has been growing in popularity among second/foreign language teachers. This has encouraged not only teachers but also textbook writers to change the ways grammar is handled in the target language. When the instruction focuses on a particular linguistic pattern, it would be introduced in combination with a context where the native speakers use it appropriately. For example, *Situational Functional Japanese, Volume one: Notes* introduces the idea that *-te (mo) ii* is used to ask the teacher permission to be absent from class. In this case, it seems to be common practice for teachers to have their students use *-te (mo) ii* not only in oral communication but also in written communication, i.e., a note to a teacher. By doing so, the teachers reinforce the usage of this form as a particular speech act. In this study, I collected written samples from college students who are native speakers of Japanese, and investigated to what extent they actually use *-te (mo) ii* in written communication, in particular when writing to their teachers to ask for permission. The results suggest that *-te (mo) ii* is not used at all in the given context. This preliminary study intends to call educators' attention to the fact that there is a gap between what native speakers actually do and what JFL learners are encouraged/instructed to do in the same context.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of this study

In the 4-credit Japanese course offered at the University of Hawaii at Manoa, we've been using 3 volumes of the textbook called "Situational Functional Japanese," which is also known as SFJ. The preface of SFJ reads: "Knowledge of grammar is not enough to communicate smoothly: you must know in what kind of situation to use the grammar or expressions you have learned." Each lesson starts from a model conversation, which is followed by an explanation of the grammatical items that usually appear there. The lesson shifts to an explanation of cultural information and conversational techniques such as "how to ask for a telephone number," and "how to make a telephone call."

For example in Lesson 8, which is entitled "Asking permission," the target structures are displayed within the two different situations given in the model conversation. One is a situation where a college student does not feel well and asks his professor if he can be absent from class. In the other situation a student asks the professor's assistant if it is OK to use the copy machine in the professor's office. One of the main objectives of this lesson is to have learners acquire the verb ending form *-te mo ii*, which expresses permission or concession. A good example of the use of this particular phrase is something like, "*tabako o suttee mo ii desu ka?*" meaning "May I smoke?" In this lesson, however, the students are encouraged to use this particular form extensively within the context of communicating with their teacher, as illustrated in the first entry of the model conversation.

Based on the context, the explanation of the conversation is given according to a situation where the speaker asks for permission, focusing on the following points:

- Roundabout way to present the central message.
- Display of topic
- Use of the phrase *-te mo ii desu ka* ('May I...?')

The first two points are related to the style of text organization that is supposedly culturally appropriate or appreciated. The third point is the integration of "situation" and "function": that is, the practical application of grammatical knowledge to a social context. In the following sections, I will first briefly review the characteristics of Japanese text organization that has been described by researchers.

1.2 Text organization in Japanese

Hijirida and Yoshikawa (1987) and Maynard (1998) explain that in Japanese discourse, the speakers (or writers) present the central message in a roundabout way, and the point is not stated until the end of the discourse. Hinds (1983, 1990) also points out that in Japanese the introduction of the purpose of a writing does not come until later. Hinds (1990) calls this style "delayed introduction of purpose" and argues that Japanese and other Asian languages (such as Korean, Chinese and Thai) have the same feature. This style is also reflected in the model conversation given in SFJ. It suggests that giving reasons before making a request is a good strategy for getting permission from a superior, such as a teacher.

SFJ also repeatedly instructs a particular way of displaying the topic at the beginning of the conversation by saying "[topic] *no koto na n desu ga*" meaning 'It is about [topic].' Students are therefore advised that if they are going to talk about an overdue essay, they should say "*repooto no koto na n desu ga*" ('It is about the essay.') at the beginning of their discourse. Needless to say, this is a useful strategy to start an argument, and is often seen in business writings. However, it is less clear to what extent this strategy is commonly used in general contexts, especially by college-age students.

1.3 Pragmatics in the language classroom

As the above discussion suggests, there is a cultural tendency or preference concerning the manner of organizing a discourse. For the discourse as a social interaction, each society has a preferred style that is considered appropriate within a context. That is, the style depends on the kinds of social interaction in which the speaker (or the writer) is engaging. This is not grammar, but pragmatics. Crystal (1985: 240) defines pragmatics as follows:

... the study of LANGUAGE from the point of view of the users, especially of the choices they make, the CONSTRAINTS they encounter in using language in social interaction, and the effects their use of language has on the other participants in an act of communication.

Unlike JSL (Japanese as a Second Language) students, JFL (Japanese as a Foreign Language) students have little chance outside their classroom to observe how people use the language in everyday life. This means that classroom instruction shares responsibility with the textbook for much of the JFL students' acquisition of pragmatics, that is, the use of Japanese in the way its native speakers consider appropriate in a social interaction.

Particular linguistic choices that native speakers make are referred to as *pragmalinguistics* in Leech's (1983) terminology. In the case of SFJ Lesson 8 that I described earlier, such pragmalinguistic choices are fixed and provided to learners as examples of what native speakers do. *What native speakers do* includes not only the discourse organization but also the use of a particular verb-ending form *-te mo ii*. This assumption of *what native speakers do* is often taken for granted by teachers. As a result, teachers encourage their students to practice this assumption in oral communication as well as in written communication. For example, in the workbook used in our Japanese program, there are both reading and writing exercises that reinforce the assumption about the discourse organization as well as the use of the form *-te mo ii*. In this study, I tested this assumption by collecting samples of notes written by native speakers based on the same contexts as those used in the workbook. The results do not fully prove the assumption. In fact, it suggests a striking fact. In the following section, I will describe the design of this study.

2. STUDY DESIGN AND PARTICIPANTS

I distributed questionnaires to 19 native speakers of Japanese. Among the participants, 13 people are currently living in Japan. The other 6 people are currently attending the University of Hawaii at Manoa as either graduates or undergraduates. The age of the participants range from late teens to mid 30's. I collected the data mainly from 4-year college undergraduates. I also collected data from graduate students in Hawaii, and some of them had working experience in Japan beforehand. In the questionnaire, I asked the participants to write a note in two different contexts. Both contexts were set up in a way that they were

consistent with the situations given in the workbook that I described above. Although the original was given in Japanese, the English translation of each context description is displayed below:

<Context 1> "You are a college student and attending Professor Higashiyama's seminar every Monday. Last Monday, the professor canceled the class in order to attend a conference, and assigned the students an essay. The assignment is due today (Friday), but you have not finished it yet because you have been in bad health. (You felt sick and also had cold-like symptoms.) Because you have already done the outline, you believe that you can submit your essay on Monday. You visited the professor's office (to tell him this), but he was not there. His assistant suggested that you should write a note to him. Please write below what you would write to the professor."

<Context 2> "You are a freshman at college. In order to fulfill your language requirement, you are currently taking a Spanish class, taught by Mr. Tanaka. Mr. Tanaka is Japanese, and he has quite a reputation for not being tolerant of students' absences. You have been sick since this morning. Although you managed to get to the college, it seems wise for you to go home to see a doctor. You have Spanish class this afternoon. You visited Mr. Tanaka's office (to tell him this), but he was not there. You noticed that there was a memo pad on the door, and decided to leave a message for him before leaving. Please write below what you would write to him."

The lengthy description of each context is the result of my struggle. In the process of setting up each context I found a problem with these exercises. Writing a note to a teacher does not seem to be a very realistic activity for students in Japan. In fact, some of the participants commented that communicating with their teachers by writing a note in these contexts would not be their first choice.

After each context description, an empty square (2.5 x 6.0 inch) is provided. This is approximately the same size as the space provided in the writing exercise in the workbook so that the written answer will be quantitatively controlled by the same conditions as when the learners do the exercise.

Self-reports have been criticized regarding their reliability because what the subjects claim they would say does not necessarily represent what they actually say in the same situation. Although the questions in both contexts are carefully designed as open-ended in order to avoid affecting the participants' answers, the given answers are still hypothetical, and not considered as authentic as those occurring in natural settings. However, the participants' conscious writing may reflect not only what linguistic choices they think most appropriate but also how they perceive and interpret a particular social interaction according to a variety of social factors. Leech (1983) called the latter *sociopragmatics*, and as Thomas (1983) points out, it is a difficult aspect of pragmatics to deal with in the classroom.

3. RESULTS

I examined the data regarding the following three points:

1. Text organization
2. Text components
3. The writer's perception

3.1 Text organization

All examples (except for one) in <Context 1> show that writers commonly use the organization style of "delayed introduction of purpose." That is, the writer first describes the reasons why he or she could not finish the assignment, then expresses his or her intention to postpone the submission. In <Context 2>, all examples also follow the same organizational style. That is, the writer first mentions that he or she is sick, and then expresses his or her intention to leave without attending the afternoon class.

As for the topic introduction strategy, (i.e., the use of the phrase [topic] *no koto na n desu ga*), it was used by only 4 participants. It is also an interesting finding that all these four participants had previous experience working full-time. The same strategy was found in only one answer in <Context 2>.

3.2 Text components.

Table 1 shows the frequency of some linguistic components that appeared in the participants' writings in <Context 1>.

Text components	Frequency	Example
<i>-te (mo) ii</i>	0	
Receiving-humble verb (<i>-itadaku</i>)	2	<i>matte itadakenaideshoo ka</i>
Causative + Receiving-humble verb (<i>-saste itadaku</i>)	4	<i>teeshutsu sasete itadakimasu</i>
Hedge (<i>-dekiru to omou</i> , <i>-tai to omou</i>)	6	<i>teeshutsushitai to omoimasu</i>
Relation-Acknowledging Device ¹	6	<i>yoroshiku onegai shimasu</i>
Apology	7	<i>sumimasen, mooshiwake arimasen</i>

Table (1) Frequency of text components in <Context 1>

The striking fact is that no one used the *-te (mo) ii* structure, which is the target grammar that JFL learners are instructed to use in the same context. Native speakers used a receiving verb or the combination of a causative verb and a receiving verb. They also used hedge, honorifics, and/or other formulaic expressions effectively. Some participants combined some of the components in their writings. Example 1 shows a text that contains hedge, apology and the relation-acknowledging device.

Example (1)

Koosoo wa matomatte imasu node, konshuumatsu ni shiagete, raishuu no getsuyoobi ni wa teeshutsu shitai to omoimasu. Sumimasen. Yoroshiku onegai shimasu. Mata atode renraku shimasu.

Since I have completed the outline, I will finish writing this weekend, and I think I would like to submit it next Monday. I'm sorry. Thank you for your consideration of my request.

The phrase that the JFL learners are instructed to make is a question such as "... *teeshutsu shite mo ii desu ka*" or "... *teeshutsu shite mo yoroshii deshoo ka*."² In contrast, Example (1) shows that native speakers do not form a question, but rather an assertive sentence.

Table (2) shows the frequency of some linguistic components that appeared in the participants' writings in <Context 2>.

Text components	Frequency	Example
<i>-te (mo) ii</i>	0	
Causative + Request verb (<i>-sasete kudasai</i>)	3	<i>yasumasete kudasai</i>
Causative + Receiving-humble verb (<i>-saste itadaku</i>)	7	<i>kesseki sasete itadakimasu</i>
Negative potential verb (<i>dekinai</i>)	3	<i>shusseki dekimasen</i>
Hedge (<i>to omou</i>)	9	<i>byooiin ni ikitai to omoimasu</i>
Relation-Acknowledging Device	10	<i>yoroshiku onegai shimasu</i>
Apology	6	<i>sumimasen, mooshiwake arimasen</i>

Table (2) Frequency of text components in <Context 2>

Just like in <Context 1>, *-te (mo) ii* is not the native speakers' choice. I will further consider this result in terms of the writer's perception of the contexts.

3.3 The writer's perception

As shown in Table 1, no one used *-te (mo) ii* to ask permission to postpone his or her submission of the assignment. In fact, one subject concluded her message by saying:

Example (2)

Sensee no kyoka o itadakitai to omoi, kenkyuushitsu ni yorimashita.

I wanted to ask you for permission, so I came by.

This message suggests that the writer's purpose is to inform the professor that she had visited his office in order to ask for permission and that she does not intend to ask for permission via this message. Three other subjects also explained that they left a note just because the professor was not in his office. One of them explicitly expresses her apology for communicating with the professor in this manner by saying *memogaki de sumimasen* ("I'm sorry for using a note [to communicate with you].") Two subjects also suggested that they would rather wait to see the professor rather than leaving a note if this were a real situation.

Like <Context 1>, in <Context 2> no one asked permission to be absent from the class by using the particular form *-te (mo) ii*. One participant's metacommunicative message suggests that she wanted to tell the professor that she was going to a doctor in a face-to-face conversation rather than in a written message:

Example (3)

Asakara no taichoohuryoo de, gakkoo ni wa kimashita ga, kono mama zemi ni deru no wa tsurai node, byoo in ni ikitai to omoi, sono mune otsutae shiyoo to omoimashita ga, Tanaka sensee ga huzai deatta tame, kono memo o nokoshimashita.

I have been sick since this morning, and I came to school, but it is difficult for me to attend (your) seminar in this condition, so I thought I should go to see a doctor, and I was going to tell you about it, but you were not in, so I am leaving this note.

Two participants explicitly express their intention to meet the professor later by saying *gojitsu mata ukagai masu* ("I will try to come back to see you another time"). Two other participants also commented that they would manage to attend the class regardless of the circumstance.

4. DISCUSSION

In sum, I found the following characteristics in the native speakers' writings in both <Context 1> and <Context 2>:

1. "Delayed introduction of purpose" is a common style of organization in the writings.
2. Topic introduction strategy ([topic] *no koto na n desu ga*) is not used by Japanese college students. In contrast, it is used by those who had working experience.³
3. The native speakers use multiple linguistic devices (honorifics, receiving verbs, causative verbs, potential verbs, formulaic expressions) more often and make complex sentences.
4. No one literally asked permission in either context.
5. Some participants showed reluctance to write a note to their teacher.

The most striking finding is that no one used *-te (mo) ii* in his or her writing, and therefore no one literally asked permission. Instead, many of the participants state their intention of submitting the assignment after the due date in <Context 1>, or going to see a doctor in <Context 2>. In the latter case, three answers show that the writers conclude the note without clearly mentioning that they would be absent from class. Rather, they implied it as shown in Example (4):

Example (4)

Suppeingo no jugyoo o ukeyoo to omoi, daigaku ni kita no desu ga, taichoo ga warui node, konomama byooiin ni mukitai to omoimasu. Yoshuu o shite konkai no naiyoo wa yatte okimasu. Sumimasen.

I was going to attend the Spanish class, so I came to school, but I was not in good health, and I think I want to go to the hospital now. I will study today's lesson and prepare for the next. I am sorry.

The roundabout way of argument seems to allow a writer (or speaker) to deliver his or her message implicitly. However, it does not give sufficient reason for the absence of the form *-te (mo) ii* in both contexts. Rather, it might be partly because the writing is one-directional communication, and not appropriate for a message that requires an immediate answer.

In spite of its absence in my data, the phrase *kurasu o yasunde mo ii desu ka* ('May I be absent from class?') is supposed to be a target to acquire in SFJ not only as a grammatical item but also as a speech act. Austin (1962) proposed three kinds of speech acts that we perform while speaking: locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary. Following Austin, Searle (1976) further redefined five types of illocutionary acts: (1) assertives, (2) directives, (3) expressives, (4) declaratives and (5) commissives. Among these speech acts, the question *kurasu o yasunde mo ii desu ka* is categorized as a directive because with this utterance, the speaker is trying to get the listener to do something. The example that I introduced in the beginning *tabako o suttee mo ii desu ka* ('May I smoke') indicates that the speaker is ready to accept the listener's judgment. That is, *-te mo ii* is used in a yes-no question on one hand. On the other hand, *-te (mo) ii* can be used in a request such as *kono pen karate mo ii?* ('Can I borrow this pen?') in face-to-face communication. In this case, I speculate that the speaker assumes that his or her request will impose little burden on the listener. In the case where the students ask their teacher for permission by using *-te mo ii*, they should be either: ready to accept whatever the teacher's response is or; assuming that their request will be granted without imposition on the teacher. But how could a teacher say to a sick student, "No, you must come to class"? So, this seems to be a request that will be granted. But if a student asks permission to be absent from class because he or she is going on vacation, an uncomfortable decision will be imposed upon the teacher.

Taking phrases like *kesseki sasete itadakimasu* ('I will be absent.') and *byooiin ni ikitai to omoimasu* ('I think I want to go to see a doctor.') that appeared in my data, these types of expressions fall into the category of "assertive" acts in Searle's classification. However, it is possible to speculate that the speakers are seeking some exemption from sanction rather than "permission" *per se*. If so, this may be evidence for an alternative interpretation of the speech act.

5. CONCLUSION

This study intends to shed light particularly on educators' (the textbook writers' and the language teachers') belief of how Japanese speakers would write a note to their teacher, especially to ask for permission in a college situation. Although this is a preliminary study, and thus further investigation is necessary, the result seems to indicate that there is a gap between how native speakers of Japanese deal with a problem and what JFL learners are encouraged and instructed to do in the same situation. We should be able to inform the students in what context a particular form such as *-te (mo) ii* is used appropriately and effectively. Needless to say, we (language educators) need to learn more about what native speakers actually do while speaking (or writing), rather than rely on our own beliefs or native intuition.

My regret remains that the verb ending form *-sasete itadaku* (lit. 'let me do my favor'), which was preferred by many of my subjects, is not currently available in our regular two year Japanese program because the lesson targeting causative verbs (*-saseru*) was removed from the requirement due to time constraint.

NOTES

1. Matsumoto (1988, p. 411) calls expressions like *yoroshiku onegai shimasu* as well as honorifics and giving-receiving verbs "relation-acknowledging devices." These indicate the speaker's "perception and acceptance of the interpersonal relationship among the interlocutors, referents, bystanders, etc., who are all of great relevance to the conversation."
2. *Yoroshii deshoo* is a polite variation of *ii desu*.
3. John Haig (personal communication) suggested that we can take this as a good implication rather than negative one. The undergraduates currently learning Japanese at a college are to graduate and start working in a society. The speech model taken from the mature members of the society would help the students prepare for behaving appropriately in the environment.

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QUANTITATIVE CONSTRAINTS ON THE USES OF *KE* AND *MA* IN SOUTHERN MIN

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ABSTRACT

This paper attempts to address the quantitative constraint on *ke* in the *lian* construction (L-C) by applying Shi's (1992) concept of semantic quantity, fixed quantity/nonfixed quantity (FQ/NFQ) and separate quantity/continuous quantity (SQ/CQ). Unlike their Mandarin counterparts *dou* and *ye*, the uses of *ke* 'all' and *ma* 'also' in Quanzhou dialect are much more restricted. Constraints on the selection of *ke* and *ma* are derived mainly from the noun phrase (NP) they quantify. The findings reveal that *ma* is much more acceptable than *ke* in the L-C in Southern Min, and can be used in almost all of the L-C sentences because the totality/similarity distinction still has strong psychological factors in the selection of *ke* and *ma*. Accordingly, only those *lian* NPs that are in plural form, both SQ and CQ, or NFQ with definite reference, can co-occur with *ke*. The findings of this study not only reveal the semantic distinction between *ke* and *ma* in Quanzhou dialect, but also helps us gain insight into the distinction between Mandarin *dou* and *ye* in function and usage.

1. INTRODUCTION

The Mandarin *dou* 'all' and *ye* 'also' are, generally speaking, semantically interchangeable without considering their contexts, when they are both used as an adverb of domain in special sentences like the *lian* 'even'-construction (L-C) and *wulun* 'no matter'-construction. What about the counterparts of *dou* and *ye* in other Chinese dialects? Can they substitute each other as freely as the Mandarin *dou* and *ye*? When examining the uses of *ke* 'all' and *ma* 'also' in the Southern Min dialect, we observe that the selection of one form or the other is much more restrained. In the L-C *ma* is much more acceptable than *ke*. Unlike Mandarin, the constraints derive mainly from the *lian* constituent and other intra-sentential factors. Why can the *lian* constituent restrict the use of *ke* in Southern Min but not that of *dou* in Mandarin? Further observation reveals that the use of *ke* still requires certain semantic quantity of the *lian* constituent. This paper attempts to address this quantitative constraint on *ke* in the L-C by applying Shi's (1992) concept of semantic quantity.

The multiple functions of *dou* and *ye*, especially *dou*, are undertaken by different forms in Quanzhou dialect. Besides *ke*, *dou* 'all' also has other equivalents like *chao*, *long*, *long chong*, *chuan-po*, and *to*, but *ye* 'also' has only two forms: *ma* and *ia*. These adverbs can also be used together as compounds like *kema*, *make*, *chaoma*, *chaochaoma*, *chuanpoke*. Since the use of other corresponding forms in the L-C are more restricted and can be replaced by *ke* and *ma* in almost all cases where they can occur, this paper will focus only on the uses of *ke* and *ma* in the L-C with respect to their Mandarin counterparts *dou* and *ye*.

2. THE INTERCHANGEABILITY OF *DOU/KE* AND *YE/MA*

Even though the Mandarin *dou* 'all' and *ye* 'also' are interchangeable semantically in the L-C, some linguists have observed that there is a certain distinction between *dou* and *ye* in pragmatic impact. Three general observations can be made from their discussions. 1) The totality/similarity distinction (Beida 1982, Ma 1985, Tang and Zhang 1995, Tsao 1989). *Dou* emphasizes the totality of the domain concerned, while *ye* highlights the similarity between the members of this domain. The selection of *dou* and *ye* therefore reflects the addresser's different perspectives. 2) The epistemic/deontic distinction in modality (Biq 1989, Chu 1998, Lin 1994, Lu 1999, Ma 1985). *Dou* adds force to the asserted value and *ye* reduces the asserted value, so the *dou/ye* alteration reflects the addresser's attitude towards the propositional content. 3) The affirmative/negative distinction (Beida 1982, Biq 1989, Lu 1999). *Ye* is preferred in negation while *dou* is preferred in affirmation. All three distinctions will partly explain why the addresser selects one form over the other, but none of them can adequately account for the use of *dou* and *ye* in the L-C without considering the contexts where they occur. In Mandarin, the *dou/ye* selection in the L-C are more restrained by their immediate contexts. Su (2002) points out that the uses of *dou* and *ye* are constrained not much by the factors within the L-C itself but more by the linguistic contextual factors such as the type of presupposition and the semantic relations with the juxtaposed

clause/sentence. Constraints on the use of Mandarin *dou* and *ye* in the L-C are therefore derived more from the inter-sentential factors.

What about the counterparts of *dou* and *ye* in other Chinese dialects? Are they as freely interchangeable as *dou* and *ye* in the L-C? On the basis of his comprehensive study of the Taiwanese 'adverbs of conclusion' in conditional and causative constructions, Cheng (1998) points out that when these adverbs *long* 'all' (the equivalent of *ke* here), *ma* 'also', *to* 'still', and the compound of *longma* and *malong* are used in the special constructions like L-C and WH-C, they are semantically neutralized. Although they are logically (i.e. referentially) the perfect synonyms in these constructions, they psychologically differ in function. The totality adverb *long* 'all' is most frequently used with universal reference as in (1), while the similarity adverb *ma* used with gradable universal reference as in (2). This fact reflects that the psychological factor in Taiwanese is stronger than the logical factor in influencing the uses of *long* and *ma* in these constructions.

1. Siah-mih lang ka i kong *long* kang-khoan.
 Shui geng ta shuo *dou* yiyang.
 Who to him speak all same
 No matter who speaks to him, it is the same.

2. Koh lao-shu ka i kong *ma* bo ho.
 Lian laoshi gei ta shuo *ye* mei yong.
 Even teacher give he speak also not effect
 Even the teacher who speaks to him is useless.

(Cheng, 1998: 541-542)

Do the Quanzhou *ke* 'all' and *ma* 'also' share the same usage as *long* and *ma* in its sister dialect Taiwanese? The answer is yes. *Ke* will be also preferred in (1) and *ma* in (2). Now let's look at some more examples with reference to their Mandarin sentences.

3. Liam i **ke/ma* lai lo.
 Lian ta *dou/ye* lai le
 Even he all/also come PRT
 Even he has come.
4. Liam suan-khu e long-bin ?*ke/ma* e-hiau-li.
 Lian shanqu de nongmindou/yedongde.
 Even mountain area REL peasants all/also know
 Even the peasants of the mountain area have known it.
5. I iam le-pai-lit i *ke/ma* tioh khwh siong-ban.
 Ta *lian* xinqitian *dou/ye* yao qu shangban.
 He even Sunday all/also must go work
 Even Sunday he has to go to work.
6. In liam khi-be e bio-sing, lin-ing *ke/ma* bo lo.
 Tamen *lian* qima de muxing, renxing *dou/ye* mei you le.
 They even essential REL maternal nature, human nature all/also not have PRT
 They do not even have any bit of essential maternal or human nature.
7. Liam tsui-ui e suan-pho tng *ke/ma* kha-buan liau lang.
 Lian zhouwei de shanpo shang *dou/ye* zhan man le ren.
 Even surrounding REL hillside above all/also stand full PRT people
 Even the surrounding hillsides were all crowded with people.
8. I liam kai-ki si tsit ge tsiong-ko lang **ke/ma* m singlin.
 Ta *lian* ziji shi yi ge Zhongguo ren *dou/ye* bu chengren.
 He even self be one CLF Chinese people all/also not admit.
 He even doesn't admit that he is a Chinese.

From the above sentences, we can see that the use of *dou* and *ye* in Mandarin is much freer than that of *ke* and *ma* in Southern Min. In Mandarin, both *dou* and *ye* sound natural in all these L-C sentences, but in Southern Min only *ma* is acceptable in these sentences even out of context. The use of *ke* is obviously not as free as *dou*, and even in the sentences where *ke* is acceptable, the more natural and stronger form is the compound *kema*. When we closely examine these sentences, the totality/similarity distinction seems to have a much stronger psychological factor than *dou* and *ye* in influencing the use of *ke* and *ma*. Although *ke* is used as a domain adverb in the L-C, the basic distributive feature of *ke* as a quantifier still requires certain semantic quantity of the *lian* constituent. This may explain the unacceptability of *ke* in (3) because the *lian* constituent is singular 'he', and the acceptability in (6) because of the plural form of *muxing* 'maternal nature' and *renxing* 'human nature'. But how can we account for the acceptability of *ke* in (5), (7) and (8) when the *lian* constituent is an adverbial phrase? There must be some other semantic features of the *lian* constituent rather than the simple notion of number that constrain the *ke/ma* selection. In the following sections we will address these semantic constraints in terms of Shi's (1992) semantic quantity. Before the discussion we would like to have a brief review of the function and properties of the L-C, the *lian* constituent, and the adverb *dou/ye*, which will help us understand this issue more clearly.

3. THE FUNCTION AND PROPERTIES OF THE L-C

The L-C is a special construction used for emphasizing the situation of some unusual exceptionality pertaining to the *lian* constituent. The word *lian* is designated by Liu and Xu (1992) as a topic focus marker with a special presupposition. Thus defined, some prominent features of the L-C are quite straightforward. Syntactically the *lian* constituent can be a NP, VP, PP or even a clause like other topics, but as a topic it should be nominal and definite or generic (Tang and Zhang 1995). Since the *lian* constituent is nominal, we will hereafter use the *lian* NP interchangeable with the *lian* constituent. Informationally, the informative value of the *lian* NP is lower than that of the predicate that bears a natural focus, because the focus conveyed by the *lian* NP is only established in contrast with an entity explicit or implicit outside the *lian* clause. It is this contrastive feature of the topic focus that reveals one of the important properties of the L-C: the L-C always carries a presupposed scaled set that can be linguistically presented or pragmatically implied. Of this scaled set the *lian* NP is the least expected member that shares the property designated by the predicate.

Since the function of *lian* is to single out the least expected member to represent the implied whole set, Tang and Zhang (1995) would rather designate *lian* as 'a member-universal quantifier'. This designation reveals the dual functions of the *lian* NP. One is that the *lian* NP, either plural or singular, should be taken as a unit since it represents the type of the least expected member(s). The other is that the part-whole relation between the *lian* NP and the implied set accounts for why the L-C always requires a co-occurrence of a domain adverb like *dou* and *ye* to distribute the predicate property between the *lian* NP and the other members of this set.

The function of *dou/ye* is therefore to help include the *lian* NP in this scaled set, but they differ in the way of bringing the *lian* NP into the presupposed scaled set (see Biq 1989 and Jiang 1998). *Dou* directs the addressee's attention chiefly to the whole set by emphasizing that all the individual members bear the predicate's property without any exception, while *ye* directs the addressee's attention chiefly to the similarity of the property shared between the *lian* NP and the other members of the set. So it is in this sense of inclusiveness that *dou* and *ye* are interchangeable, or in Cheng's (1998) terms, semantically neutral, but it is in the way each includes the *lian* NP into the set that they differ from each other in the pragmatic force. This distinction is the element that Cheng (1998) describes as the psychological factor in influencing Chinese speakers in the use of *dou* and *ye*.

Accordingly, the acceptability of *dou* and *ye* in the L-C can be partly accounted for in both Mandarin and Southern Min. Even though *dou* and *ye* have been semantically neutralized in the L-C, the basic concepts of the totality of *dou* and the similarity of *ye* still affect Chinese speakers' interpretation of their function in this special construction. This psychological factor is, however, much stronger in Southern Min than in Mandarin.

From the above illustration, a tentative conclusion of the features of the *lian* NP can be reached. The constituent introduced by *lian* is a special topic with a contrastive focus formed outside the L-C itself. As a topic, this constituent should be like other topics nominal and definite or generic, no matter whether it is a NP, VP, PP, or clause. It should be regarded as a unit, either a plural or singular form, as it refers to a type of

member(s) of the presupposed scaled set, within which the *lian* constituent is the least expected member that shares the property designated by the predicate. Therefore, the *lian* constituent should bear the same nominal features of the NP such as semantic quantity and definiteness/genericness. It is these features that restrain the use of *ke*, and *ma*, especially *ke* that requires some semantic quantity. However, as the above examples have shown, this semantic quantity has nothing to do with the syntactic plurality and singularity. It is more abstract and implicit, which might be brought out explicitly in terms of Shi's concept of semantic quantity.

4. SHI'S CONCEPT OF SEMANTIC QUANTITY

In his book *Symmetry and Asymmetry of Affirmation and Negation*, Yuzhi Shi (1992) argues that all the beings and phenomena in the world bear the property of quantity. If language is abstracted from them, it must also share the same quantity property of its referents. These properties then should be able to be quantified and described by some concise rules and principles like mathematics. Based upon his argument, Shi examines the semantic quantity of different categories of words and conceptualizes it in two pairs of concepts: fixed quantity (FQ)/non-fixed quantity (NFQ) and separate quantity (SQ)/continuous quantity (CQ). The FQ and NFQ are a pair of concepts to determine whether words can be used in negation or not, while the SQ and CQ are another pair of concepts to help further distinguish NFQ words and tell which of them can be negated by *mei* 'no' or by *bu* 'not'. The different categories of words have different parameters for determining the semantic quantity. In short, the main parameters for these two pairs of concepts are whether a word can go with a numeral-classifier (N-C) (mainly for nouns and verbs) or with a degree adverb and/or verbal particle *le* (mainly for verbs and adjectives). However, this semantic quantity in Shi's model should be distinguished from mathematical quantity. The former is a feature of the abstracted semantic quantity in terms of semantic range and has nothing to do with mathematical quantity or with the concept of big and small. For instance, *da* 'large', *zhong* 'medium', and *xiao* 'small' are the words to describe size. 'Large' and 'small' are NFQ in that they are flexible in quantity, but medium is FQ in that it has only a fixed semantic point and cannot be extended. Since the main concern of this paper is about the semantic quantity rather than negation, we will focus the discussion mainly on the nominal phrases.

Since most nouns represent distinct individual beings or objects in the real world such as humans, animals, and physical objects that can be accounted as separate individuals, these nouns should then share the same semantic feature of separate quantity that should be able to be quantified by N-C like *che* 'car'. If nouns bear some range of quantity, i.e. nouns that can go with N-C, these nouns are NFQ. If nouns like *dajia* 'everybody' cannot be quantified freely by a N-C, they are then FQ. According to Shi, almost all of NFQ nouns are also SQ, if they can be separated into discrete individuals. NFQ words include some abstract nouns like *jijixing* 'enthusiasm', if they can be modified by indeterminate quantifiers like *henda* 'large' or *youdian* 'a little bit', as these quantifiers suggest the flexibility of quantity. The primary parameter for distinguishing SQ and CQ is whether the separate individuals and the whole set still share the same essential attributes after being separated. If the part and whole of a referent share the same attribute, this word is CQ, otherwise it is SQ. A few NFQ words can be both SQ and CQ like some temporal words such as *xinqitian* 'Sunday'. We say Sunday is SQ because it can be quantified by a N-C as in 'one Sunday' or 'three Sundays'. But when we look at 'Sunday' as a process of development in time, it is CQ, because it can go with the particle *le* or *guo* like a verb. So we can either say 'April 20, 2002 is Sunday' or 'it is Sunday' at any time during the day of Sunday. However, some other temporal words like *jintian* 'today' are FQ, as they can never occur with a N-C and have no definite starting and terminate points of time, and hence can refer to any day as today at any time of the speech. The quantity of pronouns is determined by what they refer to. For example, WH-word *shei* 'who' as an interrogative pronoun is NFQ, as it inquires the answer of individual member(s). But when it is used as an indefinite pronoun, *shei* is FQ in that it is taken as a whole set with a certain property and therefore cannot be separated any more. Most adverbs and conjunctions are FQ and cannot be negated because of their minimal degree of quantity, therefore, adverbs and conjunctions are used as a modifier and can never be negated themselves.

To sum up, FQ words cannot go directly with *bu* or *mei* as they have no semantic range of quantity. If words are NFQ, they can be further subcategorized into SQ and CQ. SQ words can be negated by *mei*, while CQ words are negated by *bu*. When some words share both the features of SQ and CQ, these words can take both *mei* and *bu*. By understanding the features of words, we can tell whether a word can take *mei* or *bu*. Negative markers *bu* and *mei*, in turn, can help us determine whether a word is NFQ or FQ, SQ or CQ. In the next section, concepts of FQ/NFQ and SQ/CQ will be employed to analyze the semantic quantity of the *lian*

NP. Since Shi's concepts of semantic quantity are for the purpose of examining the use of *bu* and *mei*, we will adapt them in some way in order to suit our purpose.

5. QUANTITATIVE CONSTRAINTS ON THE USE OF *KE* IN THE L-C

5.1. The semantic quantity of the *lian* NP

Now let's look at the semantic quantity of the *lian* NP of the above examples in terms of Shi's concepts of FQ/NFQ and SQ/CQ. According to Shi's concepts of quantity, it is easy to distinguish the semantic quantity of the noun phrase. The *lian* NP *i* 'he' in (3) is FQ and *suan-qu e long-bin* 'peasants of the mountain areas' in (4) is NFQ and SQ. *Le-pai-lit* 'Sunday' as a temporal word can be used as a noun or an adverb, but it shares the same semantic feature as a noun. Thus *le-pai-lit* 'Sunday' in (5) is both SQ and CQ. But how can we tell the semantic quantity of the *lian* NP like (6) and (7)? The *lian* NP in (6) consists of two NPs *bio-sing* 'maternal nature' and *lin-sing* 'human nature'. Both of them are basically FQ as they cannot go with a N-C. However, since they involve some special abstract nouns, they become much more complicated. Some abstract nouns like *lin-sing* 'human nature' can be used positively in the *you* 'have'-structure and also can be modified by a degree adverb like *yidian* 'a bit'. When their meanings have become concrete, they have, according to Shi, become SQ. In example (6), it seems that only *bio-sing* 'maternal nature' but not *lin-sing* 'human nature' fits the definition of what Shi describes as NFQ. As what interests us more about these two NPs here is the semantic quantity of them as a whole phrase, we will not get into details here about this extended use. Whether they are FQ or NFQ themselves will not influence our analysis. As a whole phrase the *lian* NP in (6) is NFQ and SQ, because it contains two types of distinct essential human natures.

Unlike the *lian* NPs in other examples, the *lian* NP in (7) and (8) needs a special analysis as they involve the adverbial phrase and clause. The phrase *tsui-ui e suan-pho tng* 'on the surrounding hillsides' in (7) involves an adverbial of place. How can we analyze this kind of *lian* NP? Since it involves a space that can be fully crowded by an audience or be filled only partially, depending on how large the audience is, it is obvious that the whole phrase cannot go with N-C. It can, however, be modified by a series of indeterminate quantifiers *youxie* 'some', *dabufen* 'most', and *quanbu* 'whole' (*difang* 'space'). This series of quantifiers like the series of degree adverbs that are used by Shi to distinguish adjectives can also be used here to determine the semantic quantity of adverbial phrases used as the *lian* constituent. Since the *lian* phrase 'on surrounding hillsides' in (7) can go with these quantifiers, it is NFQ. On the other hand, no matter how crowded the surrounding hillsides are either partially or entirely, its separate parts do not change the same property – the hillsides surrounding the stage. So in this sense we can say the *lian* phrase 'on the surrounding hillsides' is both SQ and CQ like Sunday, as the most important parameter for distinguishing SQ and CQ is that its separate parts have to share the same property with the whole. If the *lian* NP is a clause like *kai-ki si tsit ge tsiong-ko lang* 'he himself is a Chinese', its referent is a proposition. Since a proposition cannot be separated and has no range of quantity, the semantic feature of the clause should be FQ. So when the *lian* NP is a clause, its semantic feature should be FQ.

The other semantic feature of the *lian* NP is as discussed above: definite and generic. *I* 'ta' in (3) is definite, while the *lian* NPs of *suan-qu e long-bin* 'peasants of the mountain areas' in (4), *le-pai-lit* 'Sunday' in (5), and *bio-sing* 'maternal nature' and *lin-sing* 'human nature' in (6) are generic. When the *lian* NP is not a noun phrase, it can be categorized according to its referent. Since the *lian* NP *tsui-ui e suan-pho tng* 'on the surrounding hillsides' in (7) refers to all the hillsides surrounding the stage, this *lian* NP is definite. So is the *lian* NP *kai-ki si tsit ge tsiong-ko lang* 'he himself is a Chinese' in (8), as the propositional content is definite.

On the basis of the above analysis of the *lian* NPs, it can be observed that the *lian* NP can be either FQ or NFQ, SQ or CQ in terms of the semantic quantity, and can be definite or generic in terms of its referent. But we should also remember that the *lian* NP is a special nominal phrase with a special presupposed set. On one hand, since the *lian* NP represents a member of the set, this NP should be taken as a unit. In this sense the *lian* NP is more like FQ. When we look at the *lian* NP in this broader sense as a member of another set, it is understandable why *ma* sounds natural in the L-C, because what is emphasized is the similarity that is shared between the *lian* NP and the presupposed set rather than its individual members. On the other hand, it is the same property designated by the predicate that brings the *lian* NP and the set together, so both the part and the whole share the same property. In this sense, the *lian* NP is more like NFQ and CQ in that it is a discrete individual of the set but still bears the same property as a whole. That is the reason why *ke* can also be used. Since *ke* in the L-C, as mentioned above, still retains its distributive feature as a quantifier, it requires the *lian*

NP should have some range of semantic quantity. In other words, *ke* requires the *lian* NP should be NFQ like (5), (6), and (7), otherwise it will be ruled out like (3).

5.2. *Ke* not with the FQ NP

Since *ke* still requires the *lian* NP with some range of semantic quantity even when used as a domain adverb in the L-C, *ke* cannot co-occur with the *lian* NP that is FQ like *i* 'he in (3). Nor can it go with the universal one-phrase like *chit ge lang* 'one person' like the following sentence.

9. Liam chit-ge lang **ke/ma* m chai.
 Lian yi ge ren dou/ye bu zhidao.
 Even one CLF person all/also not know
 Not even a single person has known.

Chi ge lang 'one person' in the above example is FQ, because it is a universal quantification, referring to any person in the domain who does not know, and moreover *chi* 'one' cannot be changed freely with another numeral. So *ke* is not acceptable in this L-C. The FQ feature of *chi ge lang* can be further justified, if the L-C is substituted with Wh-word construction like *siang* 'who' or with a statement with *tak ge* 'everyone' as its topic. Both *siang* and *tak ge* are FQ as they cannot be modified with a N-C, nor can be used in the L-C.

5.3. *Ke* emphasizing the totality of the NFQ NP

The totality/similarity distinction may partly explain why *ke* is used in some L-C like (5), (6), and (7). In all the three sentences, *ke* is used to emphasize the inclusiveness of all with no exception, but when their *lian* NPs are examined, they can be categorized into three groups in terms of semantic features.

5.3.1. *Ke* with the NFQ NP in plural form

In (6) the *lian* NP itself contains two NPs 'maternal nature and human nature', referring to two subsets of the set, so *ke* is used to emphasize the inclusiveness of both subset in this domain concerned. This is the most natural way for *ke* to be used in the L-C. Some other examples examined with the plural *lian* NP are also acceptable.

5.3.2. *Ke* with the NFQ NP that has a definite referent

Ke can also go with the *lian* NP that is NFQ and definite like *tsui-ui e suan-pho tng* 'on the surrounding hillsides in (7) and *kai ki e kut he* 'his own bone ash' in the following sentence. Though bone ash is a mass noun, it can be modified like hillsides by the indeterminate quantifiers *quanbu* 'all', *dabufen* 'most' and *yixie* 'some'. As his own ash is definite as well as NFQ, so it can go with *ke*.

10. I liam kai ki e kut he *ke/ma* ho bo po liu e kui huan tnh liau iun i e tho tue.
 Ta *lian* ziji de guhui dou/ye haowubaoliu-de gui huan gei le yangyu ta de tudi
 He even self REL ash all/also completely return givePRT nurture him REL earth
 He even gave all his ash back to the earth that had nurtured him.

5.3.3. *Ke* with the SQ and CQ NP

When the *lian* NP is both SQ and CQ such as the temporal word like *Le-pai-lit* 'Sunday' in (3), *ke* can also be accepted. *Le-pai-lit* 'Sunday' in (5) as discussed above is a special time word. When *ke* is used, it highlights the fact that every Sunday he has to go to work including the weekdays. If *ma* is used, the sentence implies that even Sunday he has to go to work but does not necessarily implies that he has to work every Sunday. The distinction between *ke* and *ma* would become much clearer when *lian* is deleted. When *lian* in the *lian...ma* sentence is deleted, the meaning of the sentence does not change, while the meaning of the *lian...ke* sentence would change without *lian*. The sentence with *ke* simple means that every Sunday without any exception he has to go to work. It is not clear whether he has to work on weekdays. The test by the deletion of *lian* may also help us to explain why *ke* in (5) is not as natural as the above two types. Another reason for its questionable

acceptability might come from its generic reading, which will be discussed in the next subsection. Since NP with both SQ and CQ are rare, we still need more data to support it. But one point is definite: *Ke* is used for the sake of reinforcement in that every Sunday without exception he has to work.

5.4. Questionable acceptability of *ke* with the NFQ NP that has a generic reference

Not all the *lian* NPs that are NFQ can co-occur with *ke* like *suan-qu e long-bin* 'peasants of the mountain areas' in (4). When *ke* is used in (4), it does not read as natural as *ma*, although the semantic quantity of the *lian* NP does meet the requirement of semantic quantity of *ke*. What then constrains the use of *ke* in (4)? When comparing the *lian* NPs in (4) and the above type of the *lian* NP in (7) and (10), we can find that the only difference between them is the definite/generic distinction. Besides their function of emphasis on the totality, both of the *lian* NPs in (7) and (10) are definite, whereas the *lian* NP in (4) is generic. *Suan-qu e long-bin* 'peasants in the mountain areas' in (4) is given by the writer as an example for the purpose of illustrating the popularity of 'internet' rather than for the emphasis on all the members of the set. What the L-C of (4) conveys is that internet is popular to such a degree that even the peasants in the underdeveloped mountain areas have known how to use it, so everybody should have known, too. Let's look at one more example with a generic reference.

11. *Lian* guan-lai e tsian-tion ban-ue ?*ke/ma* tioh kue tsue hiuhan e.
Lian yuanlai de zhandou manhua dou/ye yao gai chen xiuxian de.
 Even previous REL fighting cartoons all/also must change into leisure REL
 Even the previous fighting cartoons have to change into the recreational ones.

The *lian* NP in (11) is also NFQ and generic like (5). Like (5), the acceptability of *ke* is still questionable. The reason might be that when the *lian* NP with a generic reading, it does not need to be emphasized. What the L-C emphasizes is the similarity between the *lian* NP and the set. So *ke* is not needed here. However, we also noted that when the L-C has some particles and modal verbs like *tioh* 'have to' in (5) or some special modifiers like *guanlai* 'previous' (11) that makes the NP more specific, *ke* will be more acceptable. To sum up, generic *lian* NP has less chance to go with *ke*, while the definite *lian* NP is more likely to be a candidacy for *ke*.

6. CONCLUSION

So far we have discussed the features and functions of the L-C and the semantic constraints on the use of *ke* in Southern Min with reference with the Mandarin L-C. Based upon the above illustrations, some observations can be made: In Southern Min, *ma* is much more acceptable than *ke* in the L-C, and can be used in almost all of the L-C sentences, because the totality/similarity of *dou* and *ye* still affects the selection of *ke* and *ma*, even though they are semantically neutralized in the L-C. Accordingly, only the *lian* NP with a plural form, the NFQ NP with a definite reference, or the SQ and CQ NP can co-occur with *ke*. However, the compound form *kema* and *make* will sound more natural and stronger than *ke* itself in those L-C sentences with NFQ *lian* NP.

Another adverb *to* 'all' can replace *ke* and *ma* in all the L-C sentences we have examined. It appears that *to* 'all' is borrowed from the Mandarin *dou*. It is borrowed not only in the character and the sound, but also in its uses. This assumption will certainly need to be verified by further study, but it can be justified now first by the fact that they can replace the Mandarin *dou* in almost all the sentences where they can appear, and secondly *to* has also appeared in much higher frequency among younger generations than in older generation. It might be because of this borrowing status, *to* 'all' is not used as frequently as *ke*, nor it sounds like typical Southern Min.

When *ke* is used in the L-C, it is used for the purpose of highlighting the totality of the *lian* NP rather than the whole presupposed set. So the function of the *lian...ke* construction, unlike the regular L-C, acts like an adverbial of emphasis, in the terms of Quirk, et al. (1985), adding force to the statement. This use is compatible with the second function of the Mandarin L-C as a pure emphasisizer that usually requires *dou* to go with it (Su, 2002). However, even in this usage, *ke* is much more restricted than *dou* owing to its requirement of a certain semantic quantity of the *lian* NP. This reflects that *ke* still reserves its basic feature of distributive quantification, while its Mandarin counterpart *dou* has extended itself into several other uses such as assertion and reinforcement. Consequently, *dou* in Mandarin can be used much more widely than *ke* in Southern Min.

Unlike the use of *dou* and *ye* in the Mandarin L-C that is constrained more by the external-clause factors, the restraints on the *ke/ma* selection in the Southern Min L-C mainly stem from the *lian* NP. Some other clause-internal factors like the modal verbs (*thio* 'yao') and the particles (*liau* and *lo*) may also contribute to some degree to the acceptability of *ke*.

Shi points out that FQ words are in general not as active as NFQ words. Syntactically, FQ words are more restricted and are excluded in some special sentence constructions like the *ba*-construction. When we examine the L-C in Southern Min, we also notice some NPs that are FQ cannot be used in the *lian* construction such as in the reduplication of nouns and classifiers like *renren* 'every person', *gege* 'every one', and indefinite Wh-word like *shei* 'who'. Even when FQ words are used in the L-C, they will rule out the use of *ke*, since *ke* requires some certain range of semantic quantity.

This is only a tentative study of the L-C in Southern Min. Further exploration of this topic with additional native speaker informants is necessary. The examination of the semantic quantity of the *lian* NP not only provides some explanation of why *ke* is more restricted than *ma* in the Southern Min L-C, but will also help to reveal the distinction between *dou* and *ye* in the Mandarin L-C.

NOTES

- * Southern Min here refers to Quanzhou dialect, one of the major subdialects of Southern Min. The data are based on Quanzhou dialect. The informants are the speaker and her husband. The examples used in this study have been reviewed by Professor Cheng who has also confirmed the same trend of the usage of *long* (=ke) and *ma* in Taiwanese.

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A CONTRASTIVE STUDY OF THE “-(L)UL” CASE MARKER IN KOREAN AMONG FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNERS

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to identify KFL learners' errors in their acquisition of the accusative case marker ‘-(l)ul’. KFL learners face difficulties learning the correct usage of case markers to assign the direct object of a sentence. By adopting the contrastive approach, I assume that interference from the first language (English) is clearly a major source of difficulty when learners acquire Korean as a target language. However, I do not propose that all students' errors originate from L1.

In order to investigate error types, I conducted a survey of 22 participants in intermediate and advanced level Korean who are all native speakers of English. 22 native speakers of Korean were also included as a control group.

Based on the errors of the KFL students, it is evident that most of the students' errors are closely related to their L1. With the assumption that “the more similarly structured languages are the easier they are to learn”, these errors guide in making predictions about which points will pose problems for English-speaking learners of Korean.

1. Introduction

Due to its vast structural difference from the English language, Korean is one of the most difficult languages for native speakers of English. According to the Foreign Service Institute report, the Korean language is placed in group IV and takes 80-92 weeks (2400-2760 hours) in order to become proficient at the superior level, while group I languages such as Spanish or French,¹ take only 24 weeks (720 hours). Despite recent researches that suggest the ineffectiveness of grammar based teaching on most students' target language proficiency, most Korean as a Foreign Language (KFL) teachers feel obligated to teach grammar explicitly, assuming that learners will not understand or utilize the grammar unless they are taught it systematically.

Thus, the purpose of this study mainly focuses on Korean grammar in identifying errors and difficulties in recognizing the direct object of a sentence and the acquisition of the accusative case marker – *(l)ul* experienced by learners of Korean as a foreign language at the high intermediate and low advanced level. I assume that interference from the mother tongue is a major source of difficulty when native speakers of English acquire Korean as a target language.

2. Contrastive Approach versus Error Analysis

In the last few decades, there have been at least two significant approaches in analyzing learner difficulty in second language acquisition. The first approach, contrastive analysis, attempted to predict the areas of difficulty and nondifficulty learners encounter by comparing the linguistic system of the learner's native language with that of the target language (Lado 1957). Nunan (1991) explains the contrastive hypothesis as below:

“....This hypothesis claims that a learner's native language will have an important influence on the acquisition of a second. It predicts that where native language rules conflict with second language rules, then errors reflecting the native language will occur as learners try to use the target language - in other words, the first language will ‘interfere’ with the second.Such an error is the result of ‘negative transfer’ of the first language rule to the second language. ‘Positive transfer’, on the other hand, occurs when the rules of the two languages coincide, and learners can exploit their first language knowledge in learning the second language. A third possibility is where linguistic feature of the target language does not exist in the native language.”

Error analysis assesses the learner's errors in the target language and attempts to account for them with various explanations, including not only native language and target language differences, but also other functions such as overgeneralization, strategies of learning and communication, and a variety of other sources (Richards 1971; Selinker 1972, 1983; in Kleinmann 1983).

In this paper, I follow the contrastive approach rather than the error analysis approach, by assuming that most student errors are based on their native language. However, I do not propose that all of the errors of the students originate from their native language. In the light of the contrastive hypothesis, it becomes extremely important to determine which types of errors are made by the KFL learners in learning the case-marking of Korean. The following survey was conducted to investigate and identify the types of errors that students made with the acquisition of the accusative case marker in Korean.

3. Data Collection and Methodologies

Subjects: A questionnaire was given to KFL students taking KOR 301 and KOR 401 classes at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. All of the students participating in this survey were native speakers of English, and the total number of the participant students was 22; 7 students from KOR 301 class and 15 students from KOR 401. The same questionnaire was also given to 22 native speakers of Korean studying in undergraduate and graduate programs at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. The questions were prepared as a fill-in-the-blank type of questionnaire and divided into three sections.

Materials: The first section involves mostly transitive verbs of three types: The first group contains a group of verbs that are used transitively both in English and Korean such as *cohahata* 'to like', *ilkta* 'to read'. The second group consists of verbs that are used intransitively in English, but transitively in Korean as in *pota* 'to look at', *mitta* 'to believe in'. In the third group, verbs that are used intransitively in Korean, but transitively in English such as *kyelhonhata* 'to marry', *ihonhata* 'to divorce', are presented.

The second section consists of middle verbs that are used both transitively and intransitively without any morphological change. Since a large number of verbs in Korean need an extra morpheme when they are used either transitively or intransitively, middle verbs are likely to be challenging for students if they cannot discern their usage grammatically.

The third section deals solely with intransitive verbs that are marked with static locative and dynamic locative case markers versus accusative case markers. As for these structural types, the accusative marker is used in order to provide a semantic contrast for the same verbal meaning, rather than for object marking. In this survey, students are expected to differentiate this semantic difference; however, in English, it is difficult to reflect the exact semantic distinction of the Korean sentence without giving that specific context in the questionnaire in distinguishing the proper usage of the accusative case marker versus static/dynamic locative case marker. Therefore, the questionnaire was also given to native speakers of Korean in order to test the accuracy of the questions.

4. Results and Analysis

In the case of the first section, almost all of the students got the correct answer when the verb was used transitively both in English and Korean. The number of the students who got a wrong answer was 1/15 for KOR 401 students and 1/7 for KOR 301 students. Students incorrectly used a nominative marker instead of an accusative marker.

- (1) ku-nun tutie mokcek-i* (ul) talsengha-ess-ta.
 S/he-top finally goal-nom (acc) achieve-past-DC
 'S/he finally achieved his/her goal.'

In the case of verbs used transitively in Korean and intransitively in English, some students selected the wrong case marker due to influence from their L1. As for this type of verb, 5/15 students from KOR 401 level got the wrong answer, as compared with 2/7 students from KOR 301 level.

- (2) a. enni-nun kurim-ey*(ul) po-ko.iss-ta.
 older sister-top picture-loc (acc) look at-prog-DC
 ‘My older sister is looking at the picture.’
 b. ku ai-nun na-eykey*(lul) po-ko wus-ess-ta.
 that child-top me-dat (acc) look at-con. laugh-past-DC
 ‘That child laughed at me.’

Students incorrectly used a dative case marker instead of an accusative case marker for the transitive verb.

As for the verbs used intransitively in Korean and transitively in English, students’ errors were again related to their first language. In the case of this type of verb, 5/15 students in KOR 401 made errors, compared with 2/7 students in KOR 301.

- (3) a. Yumi-ka taum cwu-e con-ul*(kwa) kyelhonha-n-ta.
 Yumi-nom next week-dura John-acc (com) marry-pres-DC
 ‘Yumi marries John next week.’
 b. ku yeca-ka cak nyene namphyen-ul* (kwa) ihonha-ess-ta.
 that woman-nom last year husband-acc (com) divorce-past-DC
 ‘She divorced her husband last year.’

Students incorrectly selected an accusative case marker, instead of a commutative particle as a result of thinking in their first language.

The total number of students in each class who got all correct was 5/15 for KOR 401 level and 2/7 for KOR 301 level.

In the case of the second section, most students chose the correct answer; 3/15 in KOR 401, and all the students in KOR 301, got the wrong answer. The most typical error that students made in this section was marking the object of the transitive verb with the same case marker used for the subject of the intransitive verb.

- (4) ssal kaps-i nayrye-ss-ta.
 rice price-nom go down-past-DC
 ‘Rice prices went down.’
 Nongbwu-tul-i ssal kaps-i*(lul) nayrye-ss-ta.
 farmer-pl-nom rice price-nom (acc) decline-past-DC
 ‘Farmers declined rice price.’

No errors were observed for section one and section two when the same questionnaire was given to native speakers of Korean.

In the third section, various and inconsistent types of errors were revealed in both the KOR 401 and KOR 301 levels, thus the Korean native speaker group is considered a control group in order to make a precise analysis in evaluating students’ errors.

Table 1

conī san-ey ollakassta. ‘John climbed up to the mountain.’					
	-ey	-(l)ul	-(u)ro	other	total # of stu.
KOR 301	0	3	2	2 (-eyse)	7
KOR 401	4	6	5	0	15
Native	15	6	1	0	22

Table 2

coni san-ul ollakassta. 'John climbed the mountain.'

	-(l)ul	-ey	-(u)ro	other	total # of stu.
KOR 301	5	2	0	0	7
KOR 401	8	6	0	1 (-i)	15
Native	13	9	0	0	22

Table 3

meylika kongwen-eyse ttwiessta. 'Mary ran at the park'

	-eyse	-(l)ul	-(u)ro	other	total # of stu.
KOR 301	4	1	0	2 (-ey)	7
KOR 401	6	0	0	9 (-ey)	15
Native	19	2	1	0	22

Table 4

meylika kongwen-ul ttwiessta. 'Mary ran around the park'

	-(l)ul	-eyse	-(u)ro	other	total # of stu.
KOR 301	2	4	0	1 (-ey)	7
KOR 401	4	6	1	4 (-ey)	15
Native	15	6	1	0	22

Based on table 1, 15 Korean native speakers used a static locative case marker, whereas KFL students had a large tendency to prefer either an accusative case marker (total 9 students) or a directional particle *-(u)ro* (total 7 students) over a static locative case marker. Table 2 indicates that nearly the same number of KFL students and Korean native speakers chose accusative case markers over static locative case markers (for the KFL students 8 versus 13, for Korean native speakers 9 versus 13). The majority of each group predicted an accusative marker. According to table 3, while the majority of the Korean native speakers preferred an accusative case marker (total 19), almost half of KFL students preferred the accusative case marker (total 10 students). The rest of them, 11 students, missed the answer entirely. Finally, table 4 indicates that the majority of the Korean native speakers chose the accusative marker (total 15), whereas almost half of the KFL students (total 10 students) chose the dynamic locative case marker.

5. Discussion

Based on student error types, it is clear that the KFL students utilize the contrastive approach in relation to the target language, Korean, based on knowledge they already have about their native language.

According to the first section, the greater number of student errors originate due to the interference of the native language. On one hand, students have difficulty in choosing the accusative case marker over a locative or dative case marker, when it is used in the opposite way in their native language. Since they do not confuse the accusative marker with other case markers that are not locative or the dative case markers, I consider their errors to be the result of negative transfer of their first language to the target language. On the other hand, no error was observed when the verb was used transitively in both languages, therefore the situation can be attributed to the positive transfer of their first language to the target language.

As for section two, since no significant errors were made, it could not be applied to this study.

A glance at tables 1-4 confirms the fact that one of the most substantial reasons for the students' inconsistent errors is the semantic and syntactic deficiency of linguistic features of the target language in the native language of the KFL learners. However, in section 3, even Korean native speakers do not maintain 100 % of the same answers as they did in other sections, I conclude the following: The first reason is that English does not have any semantic or syntactic features showing the same semantic contrast as in Korean. Therefore, participants face difficulties in distinguishing each pair of English sentences in the questionnaire. The second reason is individual difference in the Korean native speaker's point of view in

approaching the semantic contrast. The third reason is the lack of appropriate context in order to have the participants comprehend the semantic contrast.

6. Conclusion

Based on the observation of KFL students' errors, I have identified that most errors were closely related to their native language. These errors guide us in making a prediction about what will be the points of difficulty for a speaker of English who is attempting to learn Korean, on the assumption that similarities will be easier to learn and differences harder. Although prediction of areas of error and areas of difficulty does not account for all of the learning problems that occur in the learning process of the target language, this study shows relevance in investigating the differences and similarities between L1 and L2.

NOTES

1. See Hadley, O.A. (2000:26) for detailed explanation.

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II. European Languages and Literatures

AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ROLE MODEL FOR TODAY'S CHILDREARING PROFESSIONAL

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ABSTRACT

The accomplishments of Dorothea Erxleben (1715-1762) are exemplary for anyone who desires to balance a career with raising a family. Not only did she triumph as a mother as well as a professional, she did so in eighteenth-century Germany, when women were expected to remain in the traditional roles of wife and mother. When literacy was a rarity among females, she was already published at the age of 24. She learned and practiced medicine at her father's side, eventually taking over his clinic entirely. All the while, she lovingly and attentively reared nine children and maintained her husband's parsonage.

Her success awoke jealousy in three local doctors, who accused her of quackery. Seeking a legitimizing university degree, she found time to compose a progressive dissertation on the over prescription of drugs, which the University of Halle accepted. This, along with the brilliant results of her oral exam, allowed her to become the first German woman to obtain a PhD in medicine. Halle granted her the degree with the blessing of Friedrich the Great himself. Over 100 years passed before Germany saw another woman doctor.

Dorothea was before her time, yet her accomplishments are just as impressive today as they were then. Those who deal with the strains of balancing family with career need a successful example to follow. One such example is Dorothea Erxleben, whose life and achievements deserve to be heralded.

INTRODUCTION

Anyone who has ever tried raising children while pursuing an education or career knows how difficult it can be. Working parents are caught in a vicious tug-of-war. Feelings of guilt for not spending enough time with children are echoed by the perception of falling short at work. There are only twenty-four hours in a day and working parents constantly struggle with how to divide them. When work is demanding, children *still* need to be loved and nurtured—they also need their clothes washed, teeth brushed, hair combed, mouths wiped, rear-ends wiped, rooms tidied, to be bathed, band-aided, cooked for, driven to school, picked up from school, cared for when sick, taken to the doctor, assisted with homework, disciplined, and have countless other needs attended to each day. Beyond these basics are the more pleasant, but equally necessary duties parents have, which are, unfortunately, the first to go when time is tight—like reading to their children, rubbing their little backs to help them fall asleep, telling them goodnight stories, playing with them at the park, and as they get older, attending various important events, from school plays to soccer games to helping Suzie get ready for her first date.

I understand the weight of parenthood all too well. As a mother of a three- and a six-year-old and stepmother to a fifteen-year-old, I know from experience that raising children is more work than two or three full-time jobs combined. I also understand the desire to seek personal fulfillment that reaches beyond changing diapers and enduring your child's "Barney" video ten times a day. As rewarding as parenthood is, moms and dads have needs, too. Having a career can satisfy some of these needs. However, personal fulfillment is the ideal reason for working outside the home. Unfortunately, it is often financial need that drives both parents out into the work force.

In the battle of balancing career with childrearing, where should the working parent look for inspiration? Positive role models are rare. There are working parents on television, but not good or realistic ones. *ER*'s doctor-parents are forever stuck in surgery, calling auntie to please pick their kids up from school. Other working TV parents seem to have an *endless* number of hours to while away at home, solving (or creating) problems for *their* children. These unrealistic depictions of working parenthood are useless in the real world. Mothers and fathers in the work force need real-life role models to look up to.

This is why I was so thrilled to discover Dorothea Erxleben. I met her in the fall of 2001, and have never regarded my predicament as a working mother the same way since. The life and accomplishments of this extraordinary woman are enough to enthuse even the most frustrated of working parents. She was not a new neighbor or co-worker. Dorothea lived in the eighteenth century. Her existence is not widely familiar outside of Germany. If at all recognized, it is for her status as the first German woman to hold a PhD. Little or no acknowledgement is given to the fact that she was also the mother of nine! In an era where women were expected to remain in the traditional roles of wife and mother, she studied medicine, was published at 24, ran a medical practice, and earned a PhD while raising her family. All this she carried out while coping with even greater challenges than working parents are met with today. In the face of prejudice against women and without any of the modern conveniences we enjoy in the present day, she gracefully balanced a successful career in medicine with being a loving wife and mother.

How did she do it? The answer to this question can be found in a closer examination of Dorothea's story. Her life and achievements can provide an inspirational role model for women *and men* who aspire to harmonize career with family.

DOROTHEA'S LIFE STORY

She came to the world as Dorothea Christiane Leporin in the small Prussian town of Quedlinburg on November 13, 1715. She was born to Christian Polycarpus Leporin (1689-1747) a well-known Quedlinburger doctor, and his wife, Anna Sophia (1680-1757). The third of this couple's four children, she was also the most sickly. Her early years were spent contracting and recovering from various illnesses—a seemingly inauspicious beginning that would actually lend itself to her becoming one of the strongest and most fascinating women of the eighteenth century.

Dorothea's physical weakness kept her from participating in the customary training young women received alongside their mothers in Germany at that time. She remained bedridden while her older sister learned how to cook, sew, knit, clean, and, in general, run a household. Going to school was not an option. Although a few enlightened souls had proposed schools for women, none had yet materialized (Schiebinger 252). Females were still not permitted to enter the classroom.

Dr. Leporin gave his youngest daughter books to read while confined to her bed. Among them were Latin, botany, and anatomy texts and, of course, the Bible. With little instruction, Dorothea could read and write at five. She even took part in the lessons Dr. Leporin gave her older brother, Christian, to prepare him for school.

The young girl's thirst for knowledge pleased her father, who believed that women were not given the freedom to live up to their potential (Leporin, Intro). However, he *was* worried about the effects of filling his daughter's head with knowledge that she might never be able to use. German women in the 1700s were taught basic reading and writing skills, if any, and enough arithmetic to figure household finances. Mrs. Leporin, in no way as open-minded as her husband, considered education beyond this a waste of time, even detrimental for a woman, since knowledge was regarded by many as unfeminine and could hurt her chances of marrying.

Despite the possible consequences, Dr. Leporin felt compelled to facilitate an education for his obviously gifted daughter. In 1724, he made an unusual agreement with Tobias Eckhard, headmaster and instructor at her older brother's school. Since Dorothea could not attend classes in person, he arranged for the pupils' lessons to be sent home for her with Christian. Over the next few years, she consistently returned near-flawless work to the headmaster, who often encouraged her with warm words. It was he who first informed her about Laura Bassi (1711-1778), an Italian woman who earned a doctorate in philosophy from the University of Bologna in 1732. He wrote the then sixteen-year-old Dorothea, expressing his hopes that she, too, would one day earn the title of doctor.

By this time, Dorothea's health had improved. She had begun to study medicine with her father and even accompany him on his housecalls. To her mother's satisfaction, she had also begun to learn how to run and care for a household. She managed to please both her parents—her father, by continuing with her

studies, and her mother, by learning and accepting her "feminine duties." She even found ways to do both at the same time:

As the years passed after my health significantly improved, even though I had more and more household tasks to perform, which I neither could nor wanted to shun—these did not influence me to refrain from studying, and I found that it was quite possible, while doing various household tasks, to read a useful book... (Leporin cited in Beaucamp, author's translation)

Dorothea studied the latest medical texts and became an asset to Dr. Leporin in the family practice. Without ever stepping foot into a university, she gained the theoretical knowledge and practical experience necessary to become a doctor. She practiced medicine confidently and humanely, and over the years, even the most skeptical patients were convinced of the doctor's young daughter's competence.

In 1740, Christian matriculated at the University of Halle, only to be forced to flee Prussia a few months later to escape the draft. Drawing up her courage, twenty-five-year-old Dorothea wrote a request to Fredrick the Great that not only her brother be released from military service, but also that she be allowed to attend university at his side. Both her requests were graciously granted by Fredrick, who added that the siblings be allowed to attend at no cost (Knabe 112). It was an unprecedented case. No woman had been permitted a formal education in Germany before. A woman by the name of Maria Winckelmann had requested to study thirty years earlier and had been denied by Fredrick I, who opposed education for females (Schiebinger 251). Luckily, Dorothea's request reached the hands of his more enlightened, recently crowned son.

Shortly after receiving permission to study, Dorothea's first book was published: *Inquiry into the Causes Preventing the Female Sex from Studying*. Considering its controversial content, it was received surprisingly well and praised for its "good literacy and pleasant writing style" (Fischer-Defoy 442).

With a successful book to her credit and the University of Halle awaiting her arrival, it seemed nothing more could stand in her way. However, she never would matriculate at Halle. First, her father fell ill and she was obligated to take over his practice and become the family's sole breadwinner. In addition, she felt a calling to become the wife of the town's recently widowed pastor and mother to his five children. On August 14, 1742, at the age of twenty-six, she married Pastor Johann Christian Erxleben, who was twelve years her senior. To fully comprehend how a woman so determined to study and so blessed by favorable circumstance could make such a weighty decision, it is important to know her own words on the matter:

I would do wrong if the studies that constantly remind me of my duties would be pursued in such a way that I put aside *the* duties that oblige me as a wife and mother (Fischer-Defoy 443, author's translation).

The marriage not only made her instantly mother of five, it also put her at the helm of a *Pfarrhaus*. The German *Pfarrhaus*, or Protestant parsonage, was not only the residence of the pastor and his family, but a community center for learning and culture as well. Running a *Pfarrhaus* was an enormous responsibility. It required much more time and energy than a normal household, which in turn required much more time and energy than most households require today. For example, clothes were washed by hand and hung up to dry, rugs were beaten instead of vacuumed, bread was baked from scratch—in a wood cooking stove instead of an electric oven, most clothing was sewn by hand instead of purchased, and three meals a day had to be prepared instead of grabbing some fast food or heating up a few frozen dinners. Add to the equation a flourishing medical practice, which she continued to run from the clinic located in her parents' home, and it is difficult to imagine where she fit in time to care for her children. Yet, one of her sons would later describe her as a loving, attentive mother (Beaucamp). This miracle-working woman somehow managed to effectively fill the roles of breadwinner, mother, wife, and community leader with astonishingly little help. She managed it all with the assistance of only one maid, who was all the Erxleben's could afford to employ.

Over the next eleven years she went on to give birth to four children of her own, never ceasing to practice medicine until the final stages of her last pregnancy. At that time, three local doctors, long jealous and indignant that a woman should have such a thriving practice, made a formal accusation of quackery. The accusation was prompted by the death of a terminally ill patient she never personally treated, only sent medicine to. The accusations were ridiculous and unfounded, but they compelled local officials to prohibit her from practicing further until passing a doctoral exam.

Although the invitation to the university had never been retracted, permission from the king was requested once more, this time for her to be examined for her PhD. Again, Fredrick gave the go-ahead, and after giving birth to her last child, Dorothea set out for Halle. In the midst of it all, she had found time to finish her progressive dissertation entitled, *Concerning the Swift and Pleasant but for that Reason often Unsure Treatment of Sicknesses*, dealing with the over-prescription of drugs. This dissertation was accepted, which left only the two-hour oral exam, which she passed brilliantly. The exam, broken up into theoretical and practical questions, was administered in Latin by a panel. Halle's rector and chair of the panel, Johann Juncker, later reported:

For two hours straight she thoroughly and distinctly answered the questions put to her with an admirable modesty and skill, and answered all presented questions with the greatest accuracy. All the while she made use of such a beautiful, delicate Latin that we believed we were hearing a lady of ancient Rome speaking her mother tongue (Juncker cited in Fischer-Defoy 458, author's translation).

Dorothea was promoted to doctor on June 12, 1754, at a celebration in Juncker's home. She returned triumphant to Quedlinburg, now officially *Frau Doktorin* Dorothea Erxleben. Dr. Erxleben practiced for eight more years without incident until her death in 1762. She died peacefully at home with her family at age thirty-nine. Sources are unclear about the cause of her death, ranging from breast cancer to "an infection" to some sort of internal bleeding.

Dorothea did it all. She realized her dreams of becoming a doctor without giving up the joy of raising a family. Her path was not a smooth one. She made decisions that she knew would slow the completion of a degree, but would allow her personal fulfillment on another level in the long run. Dorothea wanted both a family and a professional life, and she refused to sacrifice one for the other. She found ways to fit everything in.

As a working parent, it is easy to feel overwhelmed. However, in times of frustration, one must only remember Dorothea Erxleben for encouragement. Although she lived over 250 years ago, she is an inspiration and excellent role model for parents of today.

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BODY AND TIME IN *HAPPY DAYS*

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ABSTRACT

In *Happy Days*, a variety of signs illustrates the passage of time and its effects on the characters. Trying to keep herself busy, Winnie files her nails. This apparently banal action is actually a very complex metaphor that works very subtly with the time signs of the play. Filing her nails allows Winnie to access her memories, rebel against time and answer the main question of the play: "What is the point?"

In *Happy Days* the plot, if it is possible to call it that, is very simple. In the first act Winnie, a middle class woman in her forties, is buried in a mound of sand up to her waist. Her husband, Willie, sits behind her. In the second act the pile of sand covers Winnie to the neck so that she cannot even move her arms. The couple exchanges only a few words and most of the play revolves around Winnie, her monologue, and the few actions she undertakes to keep herself busy. She brushes her teeth, combs her hair, tidies her handbag, and tries to start a few conversations with her husband.

Despite the lack of action, the passage of time is a key issue in this play. The alarm clock sets the days' rhythm; the mound of sand increases, the quantity of toothpaste diminishes. When reading this play I was struck by one of Winnie's insignificant actions. At one point in the first act she files her nails and as she does so over four pages, some memories surface. The relationship between the passage of time and the image of the nails being filed is extremely rich, intricate, and meaningful in this play. Nails, their care and their growth are closely related to the passage of time, memories, boredom and aging. This analysis will also offer a comparison between the French and the English versions of the text both written by Beckett, since they can each bring a new perspective to the scene.

As Winnie files her nails, memories of the visit paid by a couple to Winnie and Willie comes back to her mind. There is no precise and certain indication as when this visit took place. Winnie only mentions the unpleasant remarks made by the couple on Winnie and Willie's situation: "What is she doing? What's the idea? He says-stuck up to her diddies in the bleeding ground." The story of this visit is punctuated by the strokes of the file on her nails. Three, four words and a stroke; three, four words and a new stroke. The words cannot flow; her speech keeps being interrupted. This rhythm is only broken once when she gets violently carried away by the memories of the couple's conversation. Her memories are not precise, she is not sure of the couple's name: "Shower-Shower-or Cooker, perhaps should I say Cooker."

The remembering process starts right after she starts filing her nails and stops as soon as she finishes filing the second hand. Filing her nails triggers the memories; it allows her to go back into the past and access old layers of her history, her life and memory.

In the human body, nails and hair keep a detailed record of our life. It is possible to find out what a person ate, drank or smoked by analyzing one's hair and nails. Nails are the keepers of our past; they record the various incidents, events of our lives. Winnie's words are punctuated by file strokes; it really seems that each new piece of information is brought up, triggered by her file. Several aspects show that Winnie must have filed her nails frequently, she for example describes their state "today".

We could assume that it is not the first time she has been experiencing this sudden apparition of memories yet her surprise shows the contrary. The surfacing of these memories is unexpected and unusual.

As if they had been buried, sunk deep into her mind, they come back to the surface. In French, she perceives an image: "L'image me remonte - des abîmes." ("An image comes back to me - from the abyss." - my translation) It really seems like a slow, difficult process that she can feel and analyze. In the English version the context is different: "there floats up- into my thoughts" Her vision is blurry since she wonders whether the name "Cooker" even "evokes any reality". She asks Willie if it means anything to him: "Does Cooker strike a chord, Willie does Cooker ring a bell, the name Cooker." Yet as usual Willie will not help her too much and

remains silent. Moreover the image of her memories appears very fast and disappears as quickly when she is done with her nails.

After her final words, whose gravity turns into a verdict I quote "last human kind – to stray this way.", the stage directions let us know that she is done with the filing: "(Finishes right hand, inspects it, lays down file, gazes front)". The apparition of the memories gets extremely intense and violent. Winnie is overwhelmed by the couple's words. She reproduces the conversation she heard; she reenacts their argument. She turns into a medium, able to make ghosts speak through her mouth. The couple's words are only interrupted by her comments on the couple's situation "Toutes les sottises habituelles (...)", "and so on – the usual tosh" which implies that the Cookers or Showers were not the first people to see her and Willie in this condition. Only once she has calmed down that is when she has stopped filing her nails and the image of the couple is consequently gone, does she reflect on what had just happened to her.

Winnie's next words cast a very interesting shade on the memory scene. She wonders for a short time about these memories, their sudden apparition and their consequences. In French she wonders : "Etrange, de tels revenants, à un tel moment" ("Strange, such ghosts at such a time" –my translation) These memories are blurred shapes, ghosts as if they were haunting her. The English version is different, there is no mention of ghosts, and she is only surprised by the time these memories chose to surface and their suddenness: "Strange, time like this, drift up into the mind." We don't know if she has just experienced this phenomenon for the first time or not. She asks herself: "Strange?" yet she is surprisingly lucid since she answers: "No, here all is strange." when it had seemed to the audience that she was completely used to her abnormal and cruel condition.

The following remark is even more puzzling, she is grateful for these memories: "Thankful for it in any case. (Voice breaks) Most thankful." How can she be grateful for having such unpleasant memories? I believe Winnie has made an essential discovery: by filing her nails she has found the key to her past. She will now be able to access new layers of her history simply by filing her nails. She would be able to repeat this operation as often as she wanted if it was not for the pile of sand.

She also wonders about her general condition, using the questions asked by the couple, "What does it mean?... What is it meant to mean?" The answer was given by the woman, "And you, what's the idea of you, she says, what are you meant?...". Just because he still stands up and free to move does not make any difference.

Nail growth like hair growth is an inescapable phenomenon. It shows the passage of time and the aging. Man is powerless in the fight against time. The best man can do is to groom, cut, file that is to say erase the signs of the passage of time and aging. There is a direct link between the passage of time and the growth of the nails. The passage of time is usually associated with diminution, regression, and reduction not to growth. In *Happy Days*, the pile of sand is getting bigger to progressively burying her and giving the impression that she is shrinking with age. The quantity of toothpaste slowly diminishes as she uses it "plus pour longtemps", in English "running out", here it not the aging but the passage of time that is signaled through an absolutely natural phenomenon: the growth of nails.

When Winnie files her nails she destroys, erases the signs of the passage of time. This is how her soft, bourgeois revolt against time is shown. Buried in the pile of sand, all she can do to resist is to reduce the signs of ageing, to file her nails carefully and with dignity.

To file ones nails is also a way to fight against boredom, to kill time that passes too slowly for a person whose movements are extremely limited. For Winnie, it is obvious that it is a matter of "Doing something", she has to keep herself busy: inventory of her handbag, brushes her hair, her teeth, filing her nails. Right before filing her nails she says: "Faites quelque chose!" In English, the words "Do something" do not convey as much meaning; she gives a command to someone else or to herself. The French "Faites," sounds like she gives a command to a third person. Either this command has been given to her, or there is a break in her identity, a distance between two Winnies. These daily activities maintain her in life and allow the speech/ word to survive/ continue. Filing nails is also a symbol of the fight against boredom. This is what people do when they do not have anything to do, time goes faster.

Winnie needs Willie's presence even if they do not exchange much dialogue. She is vain and still wants to be attractive: "Keep yourself nice, Winnie, that's what I always say, come what may, keep yourself nice." That is why she keeps on putting make-up, brushing her teeth, and filing her nails. Filing her nails is a synecdoche because it sketches her series of cares and efforts to improve her looks. Indeed filing her nails is more than an activity to kill time; Winnie is very concerned with her looks. Her memories are interrupted by short comments on her nails: "What claws! (...) A bit more like it. (...) Very brittle today." This "today" indicates that she must file her nails very often if not everyday which validate the hypothesis of the nail filing to kill time and make days pass faster. Carried away by her memories, she files the same nail twice "Not, done him" and blames herself: "Should have put on my glasses." As if this mistake was really serious, she thinks she went too far: "Too late now." Her final remark has a different tone in French and in English. In French she says "un peu plus présentable" ("a bit more decent" – my translation) which maintains Winnie in her vanity. In English she says "a bit more human" which brings us back to her initial remark "What claws". Without grooming and filing, Winnie would turn into a beast. The make-up is also the result of human willpower. Man can act upon nature by rearranging it, transforming it; man imposes its abilities on the work of nature. Make-up like art transforms reality, it shapes it to make it more livable.

For Winnie, filing her nails is undeniably a sign of her vanity, of her attempts to remain decent or human in a world where: "All is strange." where humans have disappeared. Though the intensity of her memories carries her away, she is regularly brought to reality and comments on her nails. The nails are just one of many examples of Winnie's concern for her looks. As a weak, impotent human being, she also acts upon nature's work, trying to shape it. Her art reveals how little man can do. It is also a way for her to keep herself busy and fight against boredom.

The growth of the nails symbolizes aging and the passage of time. This process is inescapable and unstoppable. The only thing Winnie can do is to file her nails to reduce the signs of time, to erase the marks of fatality. She rebels against time within her limited bourgeoisie abilities. Here growth represents time when reduction and destruction usually symbolize it.

Filing her nails allows Winnie to dig into her past, it frees her memories, and ghosts that had been kept prisoners of her nails. Brought to light her memories can run free with a rare intensity. The apparition is so violent that she re-enacts the scene she had witnessed. The couple can speak through her mouth.

GIDE'S *L'IMMORALISTE*, MANN'S *DEATH IN VENICE*, NABOKOV'S *LOLITA*: IN SEARCH OF "AESTHETIC BLISS"

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ABSTRACT

Perceiving Beauty while creating art, and while living, was the proclaimed goal of each of these authors and of each of their characters. Each wrote a story, a mirror held to the "real" world, that greatly resembles those of the others; they shared the themes of forbidden Beauty, the aching European soul yearning to love or be free, Beauty inviting decadence, the aging man reveling in youthful Beauty, the imprisonment of the Beauty-seeking-self within the strictures of a prevailing and repressive culture, individualism, voyage as initiation. I will consider three texts in opposition, and distinguish perspectives on Beauty, thus the artistic and aesthetic values of these writers.

To begin, I cite a seminal British text on aesthetics by E. F. Carritt.

About beauty I can only say that one familiar with history and languages, with books, statues, cathedrals, and music has a better chance of valuable aesthetic experience than the local dunce. But the wind blows where it lists, tastes differ with sex, age, colour, climate. (...) all are conditioned. Beauty is no quality of things but of experiences. It lives in seeming. (Carritt, Forward)

Of the three authors to be considered here, each created a stunningly similar fictive hero, a hero enslaved to his aesthetic vision. Decidedly no village dunce, Michel, Gustave and Humbert are nonetheless three lost loons who invite the reader to compare in counterpoint their aesthetic systems and by extension, those of the authors.

I first list the similarities of these downwardly spiraling pariahs, each utterly "familiar with history, languages, books, statues, cathedrals, and music." Whether Michel, Gustave or Humbert, he is a European male. He is an "aesthete," whatever that may mean. Intellectual, he is deeply cultured in the European tradition. He speaks several languages. He is a writer, a philosopher. He has published in erudite domains, dabbled in poetry. He is on a voyage from all that is his native land. His wife dies. Spiritually and morally anguished, he is ill, and furthermore, perverse; rather, he is a male whose *Eros* is ignited by a form not morally accessible within his culture, a culture he is fleeing. This is to say that this "hero" can only find Beauty, a necessary element of life, in a forbidden human form. Fearful, he is hiding his "natural" self. Against "morality," he falls in love. He loses love... wasting away, he dies.

We have then three victims of beauty, slaves to their very perception of it, martyrs to the metaphysics of it.

Gide's hero Michel recounts near the end of *l'Immoraliste*:

J'ai trouvé ce qui fait ma valeur : une espèce d'entêtement dans le pire. (...) L'art s'en va de moi (...). O Dieu neuf! donnez-moi de connaître encore des races nouvelles, des types imprévues de beauté. (La Pléiade 467)

Mann's Gustave soliloquies to his beloved Polish boy, become Phaedrus, at the end of *Death in Venice*:

Only Beauty is at one and the same time divine and visible, and so it is indeed the sensuous lover's path, (...) the artist's path to the spirit. But do you believe, dear boy, that the man whose path to the spiritual passes through the senses can ever achieve wisdom and true manly dignity? (Mann 159)

Nabokov's Humbert describes his subjugation to the jury of his imagination:

You have to be an artist and a madman, a creature of infinite melancholy, with a bubble of hot poison in your loins and a super-voluptuous flame permanently aglow in your subtle spine (oh! How you have to cringe and hide!), in order to discern at once (...) the little deadly demon among the wholesome children; she stands unrecognized by them and unconscious herself of her fantastic power. (*Lolita* 18-19)

These fictive characters and the works they people are the literary result of their authors' aesthetic system. To illustrate the genesis of a system of aesthetics I cite Clive Bell:

The starting point for all systems of aesthetics must be the personal experience of a peculiar emotion. (...) Objects which provide this emotion we call works of art. All sensitive people agree that there is a peculiar emotion provoked by works of art (...) This emotion is called the aesthetic emotion. (Clive Bell, *Art* (1913) (Kostelanetz, *Epigraphs*))

I enlarge this definition to say, "objects which provide this emotion we call objects of *beauty*," for as Carritt stated, "beauty lives in seeming," therefore this "peculiar emotion" can be a response to nature. The *a priori* though subjective beauty of the human form was the catalyst for each of these fictional heroes Calvary. It spurred the "peculiar emotion" which gave birth to an "aesthetic emotion," then to an "aesthetic system." The artist takes *his* experience with the beautiful and creates, consciously, the system from which he expresses his aesthetic, his art. In fact, blurring the arbitrary boundaries of life and art was part and parcel of the life and art of both Gide and Mann.

For Gide, this personal experience of a peculiar emotion, the starting point of his system of aesthetics, was to be found in his homosexuality. Gide, ever aesthete, wrote in his *Journals* of the incisive dilemma he faced in his Protestant youth:

1892: Je m'agite dans ce dilemme: être moral; être sincère. La morale consiste à supplanter l'être naturel (le vieil homme) par un être factice préféré. Mais alors, on n'est plus sincère. Le vieil homme, c'est l'homme sincère. (*Journal* 30)

Later he alluded to the intense power this exerted on the aesthetic system of an author. Here, speaking of Oscar Wilde and the "secret of his flesh": « ...Presque toujours, et parfois à l'insu même de l'artiste, c'est le secret du profond de sa chair qui dicte, inspire et décide » (*Journal* 847). He writes in 1924 of the torment he has felt, he praises the "sincerity" of the ancient Greeks and reiterates the natural *need* to create new ways of being.

Le besoin, chez les anciens Grecs, de se montrer nus, (...) « au naturel » —rien ne nous paraît moins naturel aujourd'hui. (...) La création de nouveaux personnages ne devient un besoin naturel que chez ceux qu'une impérieuse complexité intérieure tourmente... (*Journal* 781)

Gide's aesthetic research—this creation of new personages—was then an issuance of this condition, for he imbued in his work an ever unfolding sense, scandalous to some, of admission. His was a depiction of an aesthetic beyond "morality" as defined by the late 19th century culture in which he lived. He bitterly witnessed the subjection of mentor Oscar Wilde, endured the harsh political condition of the European homosexual of *la belle époque*, and he sought in response to define and justify a research of Beauty which would encompass the appreciation of men, and boys, by men. This was in the tradition of *Phaedrus*. He was constrained however in his Protestant response; he was obliged to remain within the realm of art, and he did. Gide cites the play *Intentions* of Wilde: "Then must one always address Art?" (...) "Always," answered the second character, "because Art never hurts us". (Gordon 57)

In his *l'Immoraliste* then, the young Gide, who purportedly lived in Africa what Michel lived through the pages of this "relative fiction," was committed to expressing, purging, "painting" this life, but he heeded the counsel of Wilde in never using the "I," and he nurtured his survival as an artist by consciously placing a layer of obfuscation before the direct interpretation of every phrase. It was a game of chiaroscuro, employing what Gay theory terms "homosexual signifiers": words, images, tones, from which the reader, whatever his inclination, could take what he wished. His language was, while highly insinuating, expressly non-declarative. Gide, who was discovering Nietzsche as he wrote *l'Immoraliste*, cited him as a model: « C'est précisément parce qu'il est très difficile (sinon impossible) de réduire le nietzschéisme en système—qu'on ne s'en débarrassera pas facilement » (*Journal* 346).

Michel of *l'Immoraliste* was then, a thinly veiled response to Culture; a response born of an aesthetic emotion—*l'Immoraliste* was, in effect, of political, didactic and autobiographical importance to its author.

The beginning of the aesthetic system of Thomas Mann echoes that of Gide's. I cite Naomi Ritter:

Mann's elder brother, (...) novelist Heinrich, claim[ed] that the central question of *Death in Venice* [was], "What is earlier, reality or poetry?" (Bahr 136) Thomas Mann frequently made clear what this "reality" that possibly preceded his "poetry" might be: (...) he declared, "Everything I have written expresses my inversion," using an early word for homosexuality (Heilbut 313). Near the end of his life (...) he asserts again that "the insane and passionately maintained enthusiasm for the attraction of male youth, unsurpassed by anything in the world, (...) lies at the basis of everything." (Ritter 226)

An incident recounted in the biography of Mann by Anthony Heilbut tells of the young author at his "starting point," an academically poor student at school who dared not correct an instructor, though his own answer constituted evidence of a more profound knowledge. Mann later wrote "...[I] lacked the courage to defend my superior knowledge.(...) That the happiness of knowledge could be throttled by authority indicates the quiet servitude in which our generation was trapped" (Heilbut 31).

This "quiet servitude" was a quietly rebellious one... As art can be an escape from "authority's throttle," the "aesthetic emotion," the reality that precedes poetry, as starting point toward a system of aesthetics, it was then into the creating of a rich and emotive literary corpus that Mann, Freudian, sublimated his sexual desires. In 1912 this aesthetic system of the "peculiar" Thomas Mann became the "quiet servitude" and covert spiritual rebellion of Gustave Aschenbach, the renowned German author—an author who wrote the texts, the cultural "fruits," on which young German morality, ironically, was being nourished.

With the posthumous publication of the *Diaries* of Mann, the non fictive genesis of *Death in Venice* was revealed. The reality before poetry—Tadzio—existed, thus the long suffering and married-with-children author caressed in Art what he rarely, if ever, could in life. Eros became word, word became Art. Here, the narrator of *Death in Venice* sings the beauty which poetically invokes the aura of Death.

With astonishment Aschenbach noticed that the boy was entirely beautiful. His countenance, pale and gracefully reserved, was surrounded by ringlets of honey-colored hair, and with its straight nose, its enchanting mouth, its expression of sweet and divine gravity, it recalled Greek sculpture of the noblest period; yet despite the purest formal perfection, it had such unique personal charm that he who now contemplated it felt he had never beheld, in nature or in art, anything so consummately successful. (Mann 116)

While Gide's *l'Immoraliste* is a product pared in the extreme from allusions, citations, and references to the French literary tradition, *Death in Venice*, directly and expressly accesses a deep repertoire of Greek and European historical, literary and philosophical thought and makes resonate in a new way the canon: "Mythical Identification" was Mann's term for this. (Need it be said that the praiseworthy and mythical Greek cultures accepted homosexual expression between men and boys as natural?) While *Death in Venice* is in many ways erotically more explicit and suggestive than *l'Immoraliste*, historically it has been paradoxically seen as having less of a homosexual nature than Gide's work. This is due to many reasons, notable among them the philosophical complexity of Mann's discourse.

From his autobiography *Speak Memories*, Vladimir Nabokov writes of a rainstorm in a Russian forest of his youth, and for him the aesthetic emotion is born: His acute observation of nature, for he was to become an accomplished lepidopterist, "touched off," (his words), his first poem. Seeing a raindrop "perform a sudden glissando down the center vein" of a leaf, he wrote of "the shock of wonder I had experienced when for a moment heart and leaf had been one." (*Speak Memory* 217)

Parenthetically, I remind you that *Lolita* is the comical story of a forty-year-old widower and murderer who sexually seduces his twelve-year-old step-daughter, thus committing rape and incest, and takes her on a forty-six state tour of American motels.

So, was he like the others? Was Nabokov writing to sublimate an "inversion"?

Concerning his work of art, *Lolita*, an interviewer once asked:

Did Humbert Humbert, the middle aged seducer, have any original?

Nabokov responded:

No. He's a man I devised, a man with an obsession...

Did Lolita herself have an original?

No, Lolita didn't have any original. She was born in my own mind.

Why did you write Lolita?

It was an interesting thing to do. Why did I write any of my books, after all? For the sake of the pleasure, for the sake of the difficulty. I have no social purpose, no moral message; I've no general ideas to exploit, I just like composing riddles with elegant solutions. (*Strong Opinions* 16)

We are faced then with three similar stories. We have two writers positing that life is art, that art is life... and one, Nabokov, who says that art is art. This begs the question, "What is Art? What is life? Who's on first?" To clear this up, I cite Ad Reinhardt:

The one thing to say about art is that it is one thing. Art is art-as-art and everything else is everything else. Art-as-art is nothing but art. Art is not what is not art. (...) The one thing to say about art and life is that art is art and life is life, that art is not life and that life is not art. A "slice-of-life" art is no better or worse than a "slice-of-art" life. Fine art is not a "means of making a living" or a "way of living a life," and an artist who dedicates his life to his art or his art to his life burdens his art with his life and his life with his art. Art that is a matter of life and death is neither fine nor free. (...) Art is not the spiritual side of business. The one standard in art is oneness and fineness, rightness and purity, abstractness and evanescence. The one thing to say about art is its breathlessness, lifelessness, deathlessness, contentlessness, formlessness, spacelessness, and timelessness. This is always the end of art. (*Art International*, Lugano, December, 1962)

Rhetorical question: Is this agreeable to everyone?

If "mythic identification" was a method of enriching a text and an art for Mann, it was anathema to Nabokov, who researched as a matter of principle a true creativity through his idiosyncratic and personal work. If Mann, cloaking himself in the deepest literary traditions, was to invoke Plato, the provocative Nabokov was to intone "Let the credulous and the vulgar continue to believe that all mental woes can be cured by a daily application of old Greek myths to their private parts. I really do not care" (Dembo 22).

Gide, who was active in political spheres praised Wilde, invoking the genius and interconnectedness of his life and his art, writing "Instead of trying to hide the man behind his work one should show the man, first of all, admirable, (...) then the work itself will become illuminated" (Gordon 8). Nabokov wrote later:

I do not care for the slogan "art for art's sake"—because unfortunately such promoters of it as, for instance, Oscar Wilde and various dainty poets, were in reality rank moralists and didacticists— (...) what makes a work of fiction safe from larvae and rust is not its social importance but its art, only its art." (*Strong Opinions* 33)

Whereas Gide and Mann avowed that their works were transparent renderings of their own experience, Nabokov made clear, believably, that *Lolita* was the fruit of abstract artistic labor—a claim that clearly differentiates the aesthetic concept of Nabokov. In this paper treating the subject of aesthetics, can it be claimed then that *Lolita* is the most purely conceived work of art—a claim which evidently raises questions as to the nature of art? Is the fact that it is the most purely conceived *artifice* proof of greater aesthetic value?

Systematically, and in direct comparison, Gide's was a text written by a French citizen, in French, of a North African aesthetic experience. Mann's was a text written in German, by a German citizen, of an Italian aesthetic *outing*. Nabokov's was written in English, French, German, Latin, Spanish, Italian, and a vocabulary created by Nabokov, a Russian-born American author, in the self-proclaimed research of, "to put it bluntly, aesthetic bliss" (*Lolita* 313).

Another consideration: Nietzsche's contention that self-criticism is a form of self-flattery, that those who abase themselves esteem themselves as self-flagellating martyrs, finds more resonance in the works of Gide and Mann, and particularly in the personage of Michel, given that the works are admittedly drawn from the ever-so-thinly disguised authors' "life."

The three texts are *confessions*, for Beauty, in all three texts, is a path towards the spirit, the divine. In this, the differences are marked. Michel claimed the terrain of the immoral, understanding the value—constructed and subjective—of the moral tradition, and he rejected it knowingly, in favor of an unbridled Dionysian debauch. Gide wrote to express a homosexual aesthetic, to fashion an art that was at once personal, provocative and, for those who knew to read between the lines, erotic. Gustave, moral in the sense of one who adheres to the constructed morality of a nation, evolves to an ethic. He becomes ethical in the Greek sense: he embraces, through the force of his aesthetic emotion, a personally forged code of conduct. He dies a symbolic death. Having established the validity of his new found, truer morality, he is led by Platonic memory of the beautiful to the realm beyond the constraints of a constipated and constricted *Kulture*. Mann expressed his erotic inclinations, sublimating these through his writing. Humbert, who titled his work, *Lolita, or the Confession of a White Widowed Male*, confessed his sins from a prison cell. He argued for and against himself, accepted and battled to justify his perversion, professed throughout profound or beguiling love for his victim, and he continued, before incarcerated, to live according to the dictates of his sense of and desire for beauty, later spreading his defensive ink as does an octopus in every justification for and against his aesthetic, his perversion. He mounted symbolically, though Nabokov detested symbols, to a moral apotheosis at the end of his work, and his profound and seemingly sincere self-incrimination leaves the reading community divided as to whether his was in fact a sincere love, a sincere confession, or merely the effect of a temporary absence of blinding desire. Nabokov did not stay on the sidelines. Brian Boyd wrote: "Outside the novel, Nabokov's own judgement of Humbert was blunt: 'a vain and cruel wretch who manages to appear touching'" (Boyd 232). Nabokov, to continue in parallel motion, maintained that *Lolita* was a pure work of art. In his interviews, teaching and autobiography as well as in his life, he elucidated an aesthetic doctrine which reflected his idiosyncratic spirit. As wrote Brian Boyd, "Humbert is a triumph of the imagination. For all the distance between his character and himself, Nabokov grants (...) immediate access to Humbert's mind" (Boyd 234). I hasten to add, Humbert is a triumph of an imagination at the service of a cruel, pitiless and inspired aesthetic vision.

As to the artistic effect of these confessions, Gide created an art of absolute transparency, Mann, an art of absolute opacity, and Nabokov, an art of absolute artifice. In this vision of aesthetic value, Nabokov is a creator. Gide and Mann are recreators.

Is then, *Lolita* the most pure work of art? Was Nabokov the purest artist? Are *Death in Venice* and *l'Immoraliste*, being autobiographical as they clearly are, less pure and less worthy of the type of artistic survival we convey upon *Ulysses*, *Madame Bovary*, and *A la Recherche du temps Perdu*? Yes. And no. Did not Flaubert himself say "*Emma Bovary, c'est moi!*" And the autobiographical *Memoirs d'autre tombe* of Chateaubriand... Who would dispute the aesthetic genius? What we confront as this article concludes is what we confronted at the beginning: three artists, three fictional heroes, three aesthetic systems born of three sensitive beings of greater or lesser talent. I turn to Wolfgang Iser and his text *Undoing Aesthetics* to clarify.

The problem of aesthetic's semantic ambiguity is as old as the discipline called aesthetics itself. Baumgarten defined aesthetics as the "science of sensitive cognition." Aesthetics was to be not primarily to do with art, but a branch of epistemology. Hegel, on the other hand, (...) understood aesthetics to be decidedly a "philosophy of art." (...) The catalogue of such contrary definitions (...) can be continued almost without end. Sometimes it is to concern the sensuous, sometimes the beautiful, sometimes nature, sometimes art, sometimes perception, sometimes judgement, sometimes knowledge; and "aesthetic" should mean in alternation sensuous, pleasurable, artistic, illusory, fictional, poietic, virtual, playful, unobligating, and so on. This ambiguity could indeed lead one to despair of the sense and usability of the expression. "Anything—and nothing—is right"; this is the position you are in if you look for definitions. (...) In aesthetics—this is how Wittgenstein once described the situation. (Welsh 8-9)

In the appreciation of Beauty then, it's every man for himself. So as I began, I close. "Beauty," said Carritt, "lives in seeming." For some, the Platonic reminiscence provoked by an earthen form will doubtlessly "inspire"

artistic voices, just as the sublime act of creating a purely fictive world through combination and inspiration will "inspire" others. This "seems" probable. I give the last word to Nabokov, decidedly no empiricist, who has provided me with many chills, shivers and shudders: "Rely on the sudden erection of your small dorsal hairs. Do not drag in Freud at this point. All the rest depends on personal talent" (*Strong Opinions* 66).

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A STREET NAMED FIDELITY

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ABSTRACT

In examining a French novel, *Le Rouge et le Noir*, written by Stendhal in 1830, one can see how the mere name of a street becomes a mirror of the Romanesque adventure. This street, Le Cours de la Fidélité, or Avenue of Fidelity, becomes a theme itself. Stendhal examines fidelity in terms of church, state, relationships, and to oneself. This analysis reassesses Stendhal's literary project: his desire all along to "make chef d'œuvre" (Stendhal, dixit). In this development, different aspects of fidelity will be demonstrated. This glimpse of a theme in *Le Rouge et le Noir* will illustrate the famous definition of novel given by Stendhal that, "a novel is a mirror that one takes along one's path".

In *Le Rouge et le Noir* by Stendhal, the mere name of a street becomes a reflection of a greater theme that is illustrated throughout the novel, and defines nearly every relationship within. This street, Le Cours de la Fidélité, the Avenue of Fidelity, makes subtle appearances, yet is strategically placed by Stendhal to create a brilliant backdrop, which colors the scene with a certain presence of morality. It is placed in a delicate manner, which leaves it almost unnoticed, yet when the pattern emerges, the significance of Cours de la Fidélité reveals itself.

Fidelity is loosely defined as a constancy in affections and feelings, keeping one's promises, faithfulness to a duty, to a religion, as well as fidelity to one's decisions and principles. This theme of fidelity and faithfulness functions on many levels in *Le Rouge et le Noir*, and as Stendhal hoped with his chronicle of the 19th century, provides an excellent mirror through which one can analyze the society which produced this narrative. In this novel, fidelity can be analyzed from semantic, political, historical, and sociological points of view.

Though the theme of fidelity is the focus of this article, the physical manifestation of Cours de la Fidélité is an important element in the setting of this story. Le Cours de la Fidélité was constructed by M. de Rênal, mayor of Verrières. The long avenue was built out of necessity, but the mayor was pleased to find such an imposing way to immortalize his administration. A thoroughfare of enormous proportions, with over a dozen inscriptions of *Cours de la Fidélité* in large slabs of marble, it was said to have one of the most picturesque views in all of France.

It is ironic that M. de Rênal is responsible for the creation of the street for many reasons. The fortune that funded the project was born on the backs of young girls laboring in his nail factory, and through his various thefts disguised as business transactions. M. de Rênal is a man of the state whose preoccupation with his reputation, his business opportunities, and political intrigues, leaves little room in his life for a strong relationship with his family. His faithfulness lies in what Stendhal calls, "le métal", or the dollar he is yet to make.

The sheltered and naïve Mme. de Rênal on the other hand, is the ideal of wife and mother; she is the embodiment of fidelity. "C'était une âme naïve, qui jamais ne s'était élevée même jusqu'à juger son mari, et à s'avouer qu'il l'ennuyait. Elle supposait, sans se le dire, qu'entre mari et femme il n'y avait pas de plus douces relations. Elle aimait surtout M. de Rênal quand il lui parlait de ses projets sur leurs enfants... En somme, elle trouvait M. de Rênal beaucoup moins ennuyeux que tous les hommes de sa connaissance" (Stendhal, p. 35-36). "Hers was a naïve soul that would not rise even to the point of passing judgment on her husband or of admitting that she was not happy with him. She supposed, without ever expressing it, that sweeter relations did not exist between man and wife. She especially loved M. de Rênal when he spoke of their plans for the children... M. de Rênal was only less disagreeable, on the whole, than any man of her acquaintance" (my translation). Forsaking any selfish version of happiness, she listens to her husband's ramblings while anxiously watching her sons, keeping them safe from harm, selflessly devoted to their happiness. This novel opens on just this scene as M. and Mme. de Rênal walk arm in arm along Le Cours de la Fidélité.

Mme de Rênal is the picture of self-sacrifice and dedication. Her fidelity to family lies in her sons, and to the long genealogy of their aristocratic family, which was of the old line of Spanish nobility. To my knowledge, her first name is mentioned only once in *Le Rouge et le Noir*, and only in passing. It is Louise. This makes an immediate and significant reference to an important genealogy in the French aristocratic system: Louis and the Bourbon family line. This recalls a time before the terror of the French revolution, a time when noble birth meant privilege and prestige. Now France finds itself torn between liberals and conservatives, in the midst of a great religious debate, and challenged by a profound class struggle, themes which dominate *Le Rouge et le Noir*.

A perfect personification of all these conflicts is found within the main character, Julien Sorel. He is a true testament to the genuine complexity of fidelity. Julien Sorel is a young, ambitious man supposedly born to a carpenter, though it is suggested that his real father was a nobleman, making Julien the son of adultery. He is full of pride, and full of contempt for the rich. He dreams of a time when he could have fought under Napoleon and become a prestigious man of wealth despite his social class. He cherishes his copy of *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène*, Napoleon's memoirs, often using Napoleon's ambition and courage as a model by which he measures himself. "Depuis bien des années, Julien ne passait pas une heure de sa vie sans se dire que Bonaparte, lieutenant obscur et sans fortune, s'était fait le maître du monde avec son épée. Cette idée le consolait de ses malheurs qu'il croyait grands, et redoublait sa joie quand il en avait" (Stendhal, p.47). "For many years Julien had not passed a single hour without telling himself that Bonaparte, an obscure, money less lieutenant, made himself master of the world by his sword. That thought had consoled him in his griefs, which he thought very great, and redoubled his joy when he had any" (my translation). Because society of Julien's day works under a different system, he soon realizes that his most effective instrument of social mobility will be through the church. He stops speaking of Napoleon and decides to become a priest, changing the nature of his faith.

He is a quick learner and his knowledge of the bible, which he has memorized in Latin, makes him known in Verrières and is soon invited to be the tutor of the mayor's children. Julien hesitates. It is an opportunity to leave his abusive father and brothers, but he realizes that the position of tutor is not much higher than that of a servant. He requests the respect of being allowed to eat with the family. "Cette horreur pour manger avec des domestiques n'était pas naturelle à Julien...Il puisait cette répugnance dans les *Confessions* de Rousseau. C'était le seul livre à l'aide duquel son imagination se figurait le monde. Le recueil des bulletins de la grande armée et le *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène* complétaient son Coran...Jamais il ne crut en aucun autre...il regardait tous les autres livres du monde comme menteurs" (Stendhal, p.43). "This horror of eating with servants was not natural to Julien...this repugnance he drew from Rousseau's *Confessions*, the only book through which he looked at life. A collection of bulletins de la grande armée and the *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène* completed his Koran. Never did he pin his faith to other books...he looked upon other books as a pack of lies" (my translation).

Julien's thoughts and ideals are strongly influenced by Napoleon and Rousseau which explains his dual nature towards the nobility. He is drawn to their society, refinement and culture, yet he is disgusted by their abuses and his inferior station to them. Julien is often described by both himself and the narrator as a hypocrite. He himself is unsure to which ideals he is faithful. He is equally attracted to and repelled by all that surrounds him. He is drawn to the church for its beauty, magnificence and power, especially when he sees the king bow before a bishop not much older than himself, yet he is repelled by its hypocrisy and the rough manner of his colleagues. He both loves and hates Mme de Rênal for her beauty and nobility. Also, he is drawn to noble society and wishes to be accepted as an equal within it, yet he is appalled by their manners and pompousness. In fact, he is referred to on a couple of occasions as a young Robespierre. Julien uses his hypocrisy as a tool, depending on the situation. His fidelity lies in the ideals of Napoleon and Rousseau, but when in a situation that calls for him to reject such influences, Julien does so without hesitation.

With the arrival of Julien at the Rênal home, both he and Mme de Rênal are uneasy as he finds the situation intimidating, and she fears having a stranger come in between her and her children. She weeps as their beds are moved from her room to their tutor's. When they meet she is so relieved to see the stark contrast between this timid, effeminate boy, and the dirty old priest she had expected. "De sa vie une sensation purement agréable n'avait aussi profondément ému Mme de Rênal, jamais une apparition aussi gracieuse n'avait succédé à des craintes plus inquiétantes. Ainsi ces jolis enfants, si soignés par elle, ne tomberaient pas dans les mains d'un prêtre sale et grognon." (Stendhal 51). "In all her life a pleasant sensation had never before affected Madame de

Rênal to such a great extent. Never before had such a pleasing apparition succeeded such disquieting fears. Her pretty children, upon whom she had bestowed such loving care, would not now fall into the hands of a dirty priest..." (my translation). Her feelings for Julien are dictated by those she has for her children. When her children love Julien, she loves him more. Eventually, even M. de Rênal becomes jealous of this strange triangle, and is jealous that his family is happy outside of his presence.

Before Julien, Mme de Rênal's attention was only on her children, but she soon comes to regard him tenderly, with motherly affection. One afternoon, she finds him lying in a wood overlooking Cours de la Fidélité, still dazed and bleeding from a beating he received from his jealous brothers. In her worry, she cares for Julien as she would her own son. Soon, however, the nature of her feelings toward Julien begins to evolve. She finds in him a companion with a gentle, noble soul. He is not of the coarse, over-bearing nature of all the men she had in her acquaintance. Before Julien, she is completely faithful to her husband and family, but when M. de Rênal deeply and purposely wounds Julien's pride, Mme de Rênal finds herself resenting her husband for the first time in her life.

After an awkward courtship, Julien and Mme de Rênal find themselves in the midst of a secret love affair. Julien sees it as a battle of wills, with her being an enemy he must vanquish, or he is forever doomed to be a coward. He still functions under his admiration of Napoleon, recalling that he, a common man, was also loved by a noble woman.

The affair is much more complicated for Mme de Rênal. She is torn between fidelity to her family, to herself and her happiness, but also to her God. While she has always been the most faithful and prudent character, she now finds herself in danger of betraying these facets of fidelity. The first is conjugal fidelity, defined as an incumbent reciprocal obligation of each spouse not to commit adultery, but as Rousseau said, "le devoir d'une éternelle fidélité ne sert qu'à faire des adultères", "the duty of eternal fidelity only serves to make adulterers" (my translation). For her, it is not entirely a question of fidelity, but one of love, which she had accepted as something she would never herself experience. When she finds it with Julien, she is at a loss. Stendhal, in *De l'amour* says, "La fidélité des femmes dans le mariage lorsqu'il n'y a pas d'amour, est probablement une chose contre nature", "The fidelity of women in a marriage where there is no love is probably an unnatural thing" (my translation). To evade her guilt, she finds ways to justify her feelings and actions. "J'aimerais?...j'aurais de l'amour! Moi, femme mariée, je serais amoureuse! mais, se dit-elle, je n'ai jamais éprouvé pour mon mari cette sombre folie, qui fait que je ne puis détacher ma pensée de Julien... Cette folie sera passagère. Qu'importe à mon mari les sentiments que je puis avoir pour ce jeune homme! M. de Rênal serait ennuyé des conversations que j'ai avec Julien, sur des choses d'imagination. Lui, il pense à ses affaires. Je ne lui enlève rien pour le donner à Julien." (Stendhal, 93) "Should I love him...I, a married woman? Is it right for me to love? But- I have never had that passion for my husband, which absorbs me in Julien... My infatuation will pass away. What difference does it make to my husband what sentiments I have for this young man? M. de Rênal would be only irritated by the conversations I have with Julien on trifling things. As for him, he is thinking of his business. I deprive him of nothing in giving it to Julien."

With that guilt eased, she still must confront her faith in her religion. She has always been a virtuous catholic woman, but now she commits a great sin, finding herself unable to combat her weakness for Julien. "Tout à coup l'affreuse parole: adultère, lui apparut. Tout ce que la plus vile débauche peut imprimer de dégoûtant à l'idée de l'amour des sens se présenta en foule à son imagination. Ces idées voulaient tâcher de ternir l'image tendre et divine qu'elle se faisait de Julien et du bonheur de l'aimer... Elle se voyait méprisable" (Stendhal, 94). "All at once the frightful word 'adulteress' came to her. All that the vilest debauchery could suggest of a wicked, sensual love presented itself vividly to her imagination then. Her ideas now were tarnishing the delicate, divine image which she had made of Julien and of the happiness of loving him... she saw herself fallen" (my translation). She tries to quiet her fears of a terrible God, but it is ever present, preventing her from a peaceful love with Julien. Her greatest fear is that God will punish her for her sins through her children, and this thought is unbearable for Mme de Rênal.

The liaison between Julien and Mme de Rênal is inevitably ruptured because of duty and social pressures. After more than a year apart, Julien rides along Cours de la Fidélité in the darkness to spend one last night with the only person he's ever loved. Though each continues along different paths, they remain faithful to the love they share, regardless of appearances. Even at the moment of his death, Julien, who has renounced everything

including God, thinks only of Mme de Rênal and the pain his death will cause her. Julien begs her not to take her own life. He will soon have a son he wishes Mme de Rênal to raise so that he may also experience her love. Mme de Rênal is equally affected. When Julien's end nears, she tearfully recalls all the horrors her religion has brought her, and that while she is near Julien, all duty disappears. She rejects all she had once held so dear. Mme de Rênal keeps her promise not to take her own life, but three days after his death she dies while kissing her children. In the end, they remain faithful only to each other.

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ALBERT SCHWEITZER, AN OUTSIDER BETWEEN TWO CULTURES

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Born in a small village of Alsace, then part of Germany, and later part of France, son of a Lutheran pastor, Albert Schweitzer had a life of many unusual facets. Theologian, organist, medical doctor, missionary and overall humanitarian, he won the Nobel Peace Prize of 1952.

An Outsider, he was first at a very early age when in winter he refused to wear gloves and shoes, hats and coats, to dress like poorer children.

He is an Outsider when, at the age of thirty, he decided to leave his family and wealthy life to become a medical doctor, and devote the rest of his life serving the desperate needs of the people of Africa.

And as an Outsider again he felt when, at the end of WWI, the French government considered him as a foreigner of a country at war with France, and deported him with his wife to a prisoner camp. But not even these serious setbacks deterred him from his mission.

This presentation will show how Albert Schweitzer, who was born as a German citizen and died as a French citizen, has been sometimes a link between the two cultures, and how by his "Reverence for Life", he demonstrated an ethical response for humans, stressing the interdependence and unity of all life forms.

Gender and Culture

Albert Schweitzer is a man of many faces, and to introduce him in one short presentation is a difficult task. His life as a theologian and pastor, philosopher and moralist, musician and musicologist, medical doctor and even construction worker, is more than exceptional, and his achievements are countless. Throughout all his life, very attached to his homeland, he is the product of two cultures, and therefore a European ahead of his time. Not only as a Christian, but also as a Humanist, he felt concerned with the problems with what we call today developing countries. On an ethical level, his philosophy of reverence for life could be the key to the questions science and technology raise versus humanity.

Albert Schweitzer was born on January 14, 1875, in Kaysersberg, a small town in Alsace, then part of Germany. On the crossroads, Alsace is a land of different cultures, a land of encounters. It has a rich past and is proud of the diversity of its traditions. To understand Albert Schweitzer, one must first understand this land, which experienced a destiny very often tragic and always exceptional, where he is born and grows up. The history of Alsace is a sad one, compared to a "chemin de Croix" of a nation fighting under the attack of a conqueror, sometimes German, sometimes French. Albert Schweitzer was always proud to be born in 1875, because, as he said, it was an exceptional year for wine! He was also proud to be born in Kaysersberg, birthplace of the famous Catholic preacher of the Reformation, Johann Geiler von Kaysersberg (1445-1510), who was denouncing the abuses of the Catholic Church for more than 30 years in the cathedral of Strasbourg.

Albert Schweitzer was the son of a Lutheran pastor and teacher. Shortly after his birth, his family moved to a nearby village, Gunsbach, where he lived a very happy childhood surrounded by his three sisters and a younger brother. In the small church of Gunsbach, the protestant pastor and the catholic priest were taking turns every Sunday morning to worship. At home, little Albert spoke Alsatian and sometimes French, because it was the language in which the Schweitzer family exchanged letters. His education at school and in church was in German. From the beginning, Albert was trilingual, the Alsatian dialect being a Germanic language, but different from German and not always understandable for a German speaker.

The great love he felt, not only for mankind, but also for all living beings, showed at an early age. It was already a sign of his great respect of all life forms. As a little boy, he refused to follow his friends in killing birds with a slingshot. This day was his first step when he found the courage to say no, the courage to be different. Later, he remembered his feeling as a young boy at that time, and wrote: "From this day on, I found the courage to get rid of the fear of men. Each time that my deep conviction was in question, the

opinion of others was no matter anymore."

An Outsider, he started to be when his parents wanted to dress him like "a little Sir", and he would refuse to wear shoes on weekdays, because the children of the village wore only wooden shoes. He became aware of social differences, when fighting with another country boy and taking advantage of him, this young villager told him, "If I could eat beef broth twice a week like you, I would be as strong as you."

At a very early age, he showed a great sensitivity to music, especially chorus. His father taught him the piano at the age of four, and later the organ. At the age of nine, he was able to replace the organist in church on Sundays. When he went to high school in Muhlouse, he studied music with Eugene Munch, a well-known master at that time, who recognized the gifted child and had him play the big organ of the Saint-Etienne church in Strasbourg. He was only sixteen when he played the Requiem of Brahms on the organ.

Being very happy in his family life, finding great pleasure in music and being successful in his studies, he started questioning himself if it was right to enjoy all this happiness, and if he was entitled to such happiness without having to give back something to society. He was aware of the great suffering of human beings, and considered what he could do about it. As he became a teenager, these ideas became more and more important.

Nearly every summer, he spent some time with his godmother in Colmar, a little medieval city, only twelve miles from Gunsbach. In the middle of the city's gardens, stood until the German occupation of 1940 the bronze statue of Admiral Bruat, the commander of the French fleet during the Crimean war. On the base of the statue, there was a bronze black giant representing the south and bending in surrender. Yet Schweitzer found great nobility in the features, and each time he visited the gardens with his godparents, he asked for a little detour fascinated by this amazing sculpture by Bartholdi. Later on, he wrote: "It was this statue by Bartholdi which summoned me at age of thirty to live and work in Africa."

After his high school diploma, he made his first trip to Paris where two of his father's brothers were living: Auguste Schweitzer, a wealthy businessman introduced him to two famous piano teachers, Marie Jael and Isidore Philipp, and to the organist, Charles-Marie Widor. The other brother, Charles Schweitzer, a professor, founded in 1893 with another Alsatian the "Society for the propagation of foreign languages in France". Charles Schweitzer is also the grandfather of Jean-Paul Sartre. On the recommendation of his aunt Mathilde, he met Charles Marie Widor, professor of music at the conservatory, regarded as the greatest of French composers for the organ, in the church of St. Sulpice, and played Bach for him. Widor said that he had never heard Bach played with such profundity. This encounter was the start of a lifelong, great, and heartwarming friendship.

Back in Strasbourg in fall 1893, Albert Schweitzer starts to study philosophy and theology at the University of Strasbourg. He loved the city with its intense intellectual life. Once French, Strasbourg was German since the Franco-Prussian War, and was the perfect combination of French "esprit" and German pride. The university, one of the oldest in Europe, was considered a leading institution of learning. He continues also his musical studies with Ernest Munch, the brother of his master from Mulhouse. He studied Hebrew and Greek, read the Holy Scriptures in their original languages, and meditated on a regular basis. His curiosity and desire to know gave him such energy, that he was able to study philosophy, theology and music at the same time.

Not satisfied with studying Bach alone, he plunged himself into the repertoire of Mozart, Gluck and Wagner. He was very annoyed when enthusiasts of Bach decried Wagner. For him, Bach, Beethoven and Wagner were equal. "Beethoven and Wagner poetize in music; Bach paints. And Bach is a dramatist, but just in the sense that the painter is. He does not paint successive events, but seizes upon the pregnant moment that contains the whole event for him, and depicts this in music", he wrote later in his study on Bach. Thanks to his uncle Charles, pleased with his progress, sent him from Paris tickets for the performance of *The Ring of the Nibelungen* at Bayreuth. He attended the second performance of *The Ring*, the first one having been given 20 years earlier in 1976. It was also his first encounter with Cosima Wagner, the daughter of Liszt.

This constant desire to know, to learn, and to understand, was a desire that would be forever unsatisfied, but it triggered all his actions. As a young student, he already had put on the wall of his room the lyrics of a song which illustrate this commitment:

<p>“Always higher Place your dream or your desire The ideal you want to serve Always higher!”</p>	<p>Always higher If, quite often, your sky becomes darker May the star of your faith shine Always higher!”</p>
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He was a great admirer of Goethe, and like him wanted to discover and to understand. His forever lasting curiosity was the secret of his genius. Often he would walk through the countryside and talk to the peasants. So did Goethe, also questioning his fellow countrymen about the fruit trees while in his deep inside he conceived the Second Faust. When one reads the story of Albert Schweitzer's life and his tremendous accomplishment already as a student, the character of the young Faust comes to mind. Both men were on the quest for answers out about the meaning and purpose of life. Like Faust, the day of Pentecost is a turning point in his life. Despite a very busy life, he always found the time to come back to his roots, the little village of Gunsbach. There, on a Pentecost morning, the weather was beautiful and the birds were singing, he felt that one couldn't accept such great happiness without giving something back. He came to the conclusion, on this Pentecost morning of 1896, to spend 10 more years studying theology, science and music, and decided that, once he was 30 years old, to dedicate his life for some action of high moral values.

Extremely well organized in his many activities, he was not only a man of vision, but also a man of reality. In 1897, than 22 years old, after having achieved his theology dissertation, he went to the Sorbonne in Paris to study the philosophy of Kant. The subject of his philosophical dissertation was “The philosophy and the religion of Kant.”

But the intellectual life of Paris did not fit his taste, so he left for Berlin, where he studied philosophy with Harnack. He found the intellectual life in Berlin much more profound than in Paris. One day in the summer of 1899, in the home of the distinguished archeologist and Hellenist, Ernst Curtius, he heard someone saying: “Wir sind ja doch alle nur Epigonen!” (“We are only inheritors of the past!”). When Schweitzer returned home that evening, it was clear to him that this scholar expressed a deep truth. In *The Philosophy of Civilization* he wrote later, and also in his speech on acceptance of the Nobel Prize, he developed his thought of that moment of realization in Berlin.

Studying in Berlin and Paris, he wrote his philosophical dissertation, and became a Doctor in Philosophy in 1899. One year later, in 1900, he had written another dissertation and became Doctor in Theology. Professor of Theology and Principal of the Seminary Saint-Thomas in Strasbourg, he was almost 30 years old.

Outsider to his family and friends, when in 1905 he started Medical School and graduated with honors in 1910. During this time, he never stopped playing the organ and giving concerts. After his internship, he went to Paris to study tropical medicine in 1912. The same year, he married Helene Breslau, a Jewish girl, daughter of a Professor of History of the University of Strasbourg. She shared his ideal and studied to be a nurse to assist him. They had known each other for several years, and, an interesting detail, their correspondence was mostly in French.

Albert Schweitzer had now decided to open a hospital in Gabon, a French colony near the river Ogooue. Through his concerts and publications, he financed the whole operation, buying the surgical equipment and the medication necessary to start a small hospital in the middle of the rainforest.

In 1913, was his first departure. In the containers was a piano offered by his friends of the Bach Society of Paris. The couple arrived in Lambarene on April 1916. The conditions were very primitive; he performed his first surgery in a chicken coop. The health problems of the local population were enormous.

Working as a carpenter or a mason, he added more and more new buildings to the hospital.

However sad days were expecting Albert and Helene. World War I broke out, and because of their German citizenship, the Schweitzers were considered enemy aliens in the French colony. On August 5, 1914, Albert Schweitzer and his wife were forbidden all medical activity. This chapter in his life inspired a movie, "It's midnight Dr. Schweitzer".

Outsider, he certainly must have felt, when in September 1917, the couple was deported to a prisoner camp in the French Pyrenees, and then transferred to another camp in Saint-Remy in Provence. Thanks to the intervention of Swiss friends, the couple was released and went back to Gunsbach in Alsace. In this dark period came some sunshine, the birth of their daughter, Rhena. But the future did not look good; they were both in bad health and had no more money.

However, help came from Sweden. In 1920, Albert Schweitzer is invited to give a program of lectures and conferences in Sweden. It is there, when he described that while being rowed up the Ogoou river in Lambarene, his search for an expression of his philosophy was answered: REVERENCE for LIFE!

"Man's ethics must not end with man, but should extend to the universe. He must regain the consciousness of the great chain of life from which he cannot be separated. He must understand that all creation has its value."

For the next three years, he gave lectures and concerts throughout England, Switzerland and Denmark.

In 1924, Schweitzer went back to Lambarene. He became increasingly famous, and more and more journalists visited him.

In 1928, he received the Goethe Prize from the city of Frankfurt, Germany.

In July 1949, Albert Schweitzer made his first and only trip to the United States, to Aspen, Colorado. The magazine Life called him, and later so did President Kennedy, the greatest man of the 20th century. Robert Hutchins, Chancellor of the University of Chicago, who organized the Goethe Bicentennial celebration in Aspen, invited him.

In the speech, he gave in November 1954 in Oslo when he accepted the Nobel Peace Prize of 1952, Schweitzer talked about the danger of nuclear weapons. Many known scientists, among them Albert Einstein, thought that the reputation of Albert Schweitzer could make the public aware of the danger of nuclear testing.

On April 23, 1957, Radio Oslo emitted Schweitzer's speech "*Declaration of Conscience*". The speech was transmitted by 140 others radio stations around the world. But some governments, in the East and in the West, prohibited the broadcasting. He renewed his calls from Radio Oslo for abandonment of nuclear testing and the production of atomic bombs several times.

The 14th of January, 1958, -the 83rd birthday of Schweitzer-, the chemist and Nobel Prize winner, Linus Pauling delivered a petition to the United Nation, signed by Albert Schweitzer and 9,235 scientists, urging an international agreement to stop nuclear testing.

In 1959, Schweitzer came for the last time to Europe. He stayed for three months and returned to Lambarene where he spent the rest of his life.

Albert Schweitzer, who born German, became French, and has been an outsider of both countries, died as an African at the age of 90, in 1965. He was buried next to his wife in Lambarene.

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THE DILEMMA OF RESEARCH IN COMPARATIVE LITERATURE AND FILM: READER OR SPECTATOR?

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ABSTRACT

How to compare literature and film? This analysis is written for students and researchers who intend to compare literature and film. It approaches the comparative work through the perspective of the researcher as a reader, and the perspective of the researcher as a spectator. It suggests simple research questions intended to help and enrich the researchers' overall exploration into the study of comparative literature and film.

1. INTRODUCTION

Literature and film found their complement in each other as related art forms during the 20th century. Today that dialogue continues to provide audiences with a variety of collaborative art works contributing to our rich and multi-cultural contemporary society. Literature provides to film a chronicle of cultural myths, historical narratives and human stories whose beginnings since antiquity has framed and shaped civilizations. With film, the moving image and sound give sight and voice to what literature says in words with its orally and written language. In part, both oral/written literature and filmic creation depend upon audience rapport to awaken their words, images and sounds.

The intention of this guide is to help listeners, readers and spectators interested in comparing literature and film to research these areas in their studies and to consider both literature and film as art forms and texts. Although this guide is primarily intended for students and researchers, it can also be useful for those trying to understand the intricate relationship between literary and filmic works. The guide provides a cursory view on comparative literature and film and a general overview of principles of adaptation. It presents two possible approaches in analyzing literary and filmic works from the point of view of the researcher. The first approach places the researcher into the role of a reader and offers guidelines about studying literature and film as texts. The secondary approach places the researcher into the role of a spectator and proposes strategies about analyzing literature and film as art forms and in relationship to their audience.

To complete these two approaches, the guide gives a commented list of Internet resources in comparative literature and cinema: literary and filmic databases and directories, electronic magazines and journals, forums and listservs in literature and film in the Internet.

2. WHAT IS LITERATURE? WHAT IS FILM?

Oral literature has been a part of history since humankind started telling stories. Oral literature flourishes in all human cultures where 'telling stories' plays an important role for safekeeping ancestral literature as these stories pass from generation to generation. Concurrently, oral literature acts as an important educational tool when teaching children and the uninitiated.

The educational role of telling stories has also become a valuable function of film. African cinema is a good example of this. Oral literature traditions are richly practiced amongst Africans as an alternative to written literature. This oral literature has become the source for narratives that have been adapted into motion pictures. African audiences enjoy seeing familiar folk or mythical stories re-enacted in film, such as those produced by African filmmakers like Idrissa Ouedraogo. This filmmaker from Burkina Faso presents movies based on ancient tales and legends. As in oral literature, African film keeps alive these stories in its unique way for future generations to enjoy.

In recent past, written literature was available to a privileged minority whose circumstance gave them opportunities of learning how to read and write. From their perspective, this elite group had managed to declare and with hegemonic fashion to convince us that 'oral literature' was a 'non-literature'. Their arguments ranged

from oral literature and its repeated transmission being inconsistent, volatile and susceptible to infinite interpretations from the multitude of people who narrated it. This narrow line of reasoning for why 'oral literature' should not be included in 'legitimate literature' seems more a political argument than for literature; and potentially dangerous for scholars engaged in comparative literary studies. For this reason, it is important to define what literary work is. This guide considers that a literary work is any creative text or artform, either oral or written, which involves imagination, tradition, narration, contemplation, or enactment of human dilemmas, feelings, thinking, actions, or situations.

For those more practiced with written literature, oral transmission of literature can be difficult to grasp because of their unfamiliarity and natural dependency on the physical support offered in written words. In the past, research scholars were reluctant to use oral data because of cultural prejudices that considered it not literature. Alas, with the advent of modernization much of what was originally spoken has now been recorded in books. A researcher can find, in most communities, specialty bookstores dealing in many areas of interest.

Film also suffers from the prejudice of the written word and like oral literature has been in the past considered non-literature. If film conforms to this guide's definition of what is a literary work, then in this context we can consider it another form of literary work. However, this does not imply that all films are literary works even though documentaries, news reports, and television publicity may engage in recording tradition and use narration. They generally do not focus on the work as a creative text or artform. Equally important to research in comparative literature and film understanding is the collaborative relationship amongst oral literature, written literature and film. The researcher should become familiar and verse with all three forms of literature, for without this essential awareness a research's insight could remain cursory at best and flawed at worst.

This guide chooses not to develop the areas of documentaries, news reports, and television publicity, offering rather a focus on literary books and films that are clearly constructed as creative texts or artforms. Despite this, suggestion of research methodology and processes in this guide may serve with analysis in those other areas. Additionally, the guide reminds the reader, that much of what we consider literary works remains in their original oral form and that only a portion of legitimate knowledge has been written down.

The volume comprising oral and written literature is like a vast ancient sea when compared to the library of film. Film is a new medium. It has been just over a hundred years since film came to be. During its infancy, film's primary function served as novel entertainment. Today, film as financially successful entertainment remains the reason for its preeminent influence on contemporary society. The researcher who studies film needs to understand why people go to the movies, how film functions as entertainment, and as an artform. To entertain means 'to amuse, to divert people agreeably and pleasurably' or 'to occupy, to focus the mind in something interesting'. Cinema tells stories in an entertaining manner and remains a primary reason why people go to the movies. Audiences want to laugh, cry, feel compassion, resolve problems and mysteries, and dream. Another reason why the public enjoys cinema is for its artistic expression or artform. As an artform, film explores all the qualities of what makes us human. As humans, we need transcendence from ordinary experiences that inspires virtue and frames sin. We desire to feel the beauty and skirt with the ugliness of humanity. In this sense, literature and film are similar. People read books because it is entertaining and it makes us understand what it is to be human. Both literature and film serve as individual and collective catharsis that purges and relieves our emotional tensions.

Narration plays an important part in literature and film where stories are frequently shared. Many novels are adapted to film, while movie scripts are often transformed into books. The processes of adaptation are what transform literature into film and changes film into literature. To adapt a narration from literature into film or film into literature is to modify an original story to fit the structures of a book or a movie.

Adaptation transforms the original into a new language form, where in the case of literature and film, story concepts are expressed in written language or visual language and dialog. The story concepts cannot reappear in their original forms because of inherent differences within each artform. When presenting the story, novels use illustrative adjectives, expressions, and verbs that describe places or situations, while a movie generally captures story and place through glimpses of sequential visual images and audible sound bites.

A second phenomenon of adaptation occurs when the modified literary or filmic text exist not only as a new interpretation or rewrite of the original story, but develops into an entire new entity transformed into a refined contemplative artform. Successful adaptation achieves this important premium. Adaptation involves editing where a filmmaker selects specific parts of a story from the original source that fit naturally to filmic adaptation, and is capable of carrying the essence of the story within the films limited running time.

The adaptation of a novel to a movie follows tedious rewriting and editing processes that eventually transform the original novel into a finished motion picture. Essentially the process involves rewriting or adapting the original novel into a manuscript or written text of a motion picture that sequences the filming process, refines the dialogue that tells the story, and frames the time and setting that places the film in its historical and appropriate context. Transformation of the raw footage and sound tracks during the editing phase further changes what is left from the original novel into this new entity called a motion picture. At the end of the process, the filmic story is a new story, made different from the original story through the editing matrix and lens of motion picture adaptation.

A researcher who compares film and written literature that shares the same story line needs to analyze both the written script of the film and the writing of the book. When written literature is adapted from motion pictures, the work is generally written from the film script. The researcher should try to acquire the script of the movie for the purpose of comparison with the writing of the book. The script indicates the sequential structure of the movie while functioning as the written support of the filmic narration. The novel that borrows its story from a movie needs to reorder the sequential structure of the movie and adapt sequences that fit naturally in a novel form.

In the script, the writing is composed of the dialogue and descriptive parts. The dialogue contains the words spoken by the actors. The descriptive part clarifies the location, situation, action, character emotion, the environment, and the movements and angles of the camera. While the dialogue is recorded on the sound track the descriptive parts are captured in the moving images as they sequentially unfold from frame to frame. Within the structure of the novel, words link to form sequential sentences where dialogue and descriptive parts are the narration of the story; all references to the role of the camera is eliminated.

When studying adaptation between literature and film, the researcher should seek answers to the following questions:

1. What stories are been told in the original text and in the adaptation?
2. Is the format of the original and adapted text a novel, tale, short story, or poem? Does it come from a feature film, short film, historical epic, suspense or action thriller, or comedy?
3. What are the narration characteristics of the original and adapted texts? Is it an epic, historical, suspense, comedic or epistolary narration?
4. Who are the narrators of the original and the adapted texts? Is it a character in the novel or film, a voice off, or a chorus?
5. Who is the intended audience of the literary and of the filmic narration?
6. What are the differences between the original story and the adapted story?

After answering these questions, it is recommended that the researcher:

- Write a short summary of the original and of the adapted stories.
- List the changes in the story line between the original text and the adaptation.
- Signalize the literary or filmic passages that are similar in the original and the adapted texts.
- Characterize the intentions of the original author and the author of the adaptation.
- Contextualise the original and adapted text to the current events when the texts were written or adapted; the causal linkages and sociological impacts of the works.

These are basic suggestion to help guide the researcher in their analysis of adaptation in literature and film. Additionally, clues are offered on how to study comparative literature and film as texts and artforms. Let us first examine literature and film as texts, through the perspective of the researcher as a reader, and see how the researcher might approach comparison between a literary text and a filmic text.

3. THE RESEARCHER AS A READER

As a reader, the researcher first comprehends literature as a text. What is a text? A text is the cohesive and coherent body of the narration. In literature, the text is the written story of a book. When reading literature, the researcher should first attempt to analyze the text material of the literary work. The analysis of the literary text begins with trying to understand the creative process that fuels the development of the text. Writers put words to ink on paper or type on keyboards creating the narration of stories that expresses their feelings. Whither they choose to share their creations with a curious unknown public, a group of intimates or their own self is their choice. The researcher's job is to find out what made or makes the writer write. Most writers, even those secretive writers, have in their mind an audience they intend to share with or pretend with their creation.

When analyzing literature as text, the researcher should:

1. Read the entire text without interruption or distraction in order to gain a general knowledge of the story.
2. Reread the text a second time dividing it into parts in order to understand how the author has structured the text.
3. Write a brief summation of the main ideas or events.
4. Highlight the most important phrases.
5. Write a short summary of the completed story.
6. Record reactions and commentaries about the text in general, then about each part.
7. Contextualise the text into its historical literary period.
8. Signalize all plausible intertextuality.

As a reader, the researcher also approaches film as text. In film, the text is the filmic narration of a movie. It includes the script, the characters' dialog, and the visual language of images. The researcher has to understand that film is a text created by a group of cinema professionals that write first a script, then film and produce a story played by actors, and finally edit and mount the sequences of filmed images in order to create a movie. The filmic text is the result of a collective effort. Analyzing film as a text means also that the filmic text is considered a literary work.

The researcher who analyzes a filmic text should:

1. Watch the whole movie to get familiarized with the story.
2. Watch the film several times and try to divide it in narration sequences (series of related scenes that have a common action and a common situation).
3. Organize the sequences into a chronological time frame or a spatial framework.
4. Summarizes the story line.
5. Structure the story line into parts indicating the sequences that refer to these parts.
6. Highlight the main sequences of the movie.
7. Write down reactions and commentaries about the movie and about the sequences.
8. Contextualize the movie into a historical filmic period.
9. Signalize any possible intertextuality.

The reader-researcher should then proceed with comparing the literary text to the filmic text. As a reader, the researcher should approach both the literary and filmic texts as whole entities and with equal value. It is important to exam both entities using the same grading scale when comparing the similarities and differences of the literary and filmic texts. The researcher should:

- List the similarities and differences of the stories in the book and the movie.
- Seek answer to why the book and the movie have these similarities and differences.
- Find out what were the intentions of the writer and the filmmaker.
- List the main parts and sequences of the book and the movie.

- Record their critical reactions and commentaries about these parts and sequences. Seek answers to what were the literary and filmic techniques utilized by the book and movie when presenting their main ideas or actions.
- Look for the similar and different intertextual quotations in the book and the movie.
- Create an outline that organizes and structures their reactions and commentaries.
- Write a conclusion for their comparative study.

4. THE RESEARCHER AS A SPECTATOR

Another perspective a researcher might use when comparing literature and film is to assume the role of the researcher as a spectator. A spectator is a member of an audience. This perspective complements the first perspective of the researcher as a reader, and of literature and film as text.

The researcher as spectator should study literature and film both as an artform and as a form of entertainment. In this role, the researcher becomes a member of a general public audience who analyzes literature and film from a critical point of view and for its pure entertainment purpose. The important things a researcher as spectator should learn and understand are how a general public audience comes to value and embrace good literature and cinema.

Before people choose to see a movie, they often ask friends, read reviews or look at billboards that advertise to help inform their choice. During the act of viewing they want to feel connected to the humor, drama or action. If this connection does not happen, most viewers walk away with an unfulfilled or negative feeling. As a spectator, the researcher should try to emotionally connect with the film at these levels. The job of the researcher is to find answers and to understand why and how this emotional connection happens. Here are a few suggestions that a researcher can use to arrive to this understanding:

1. Be aware, sensitive to change of colors, and sound as the movie unfolds.
2. Study and become cognate of the movements and angles of the camera. Note the different situations when the camera is focused looking up or down; when it is framing a close up, wide angle or distant shot; whether it is stationary or roving; and how slowly or quickly it is moving.
3. Be aware of what the spectator can see on screen and of what they cannot see.
4. Be aware of what the spectator can hear and what is implied.
5. Note the occurrence and context of the voice off.
6. Observe the placement of characters, objects and the environment in relationship to the composition on screen.
7. Be aware when secondary characters and objects link together sequences.
8. Find and note the intertextual quotations.
9. Study and become knowledgeable of the filmic style of the filmmaker.

These previous suggestions should help the researcher develop into an informed and appreciative viewer. Next, the spectator researcher should seek answers to following questions:

- What were the intentions of the filmmaker?
- Who were the narrators behind the camera?
- What were the positions and the movements of the characters on the screen?
- How did the spectator respond to changes of the visual and audible elements in the film?
- What dramatic devices did the filmmaker use to build emotion in the movie?

Style and meaning in the filmic language are culturally informed. For example, a Japanese filmmaker would film a family dinner differently from an American filmmaker. The Japanese cinematographer would keep the camera at a sensitive distance, in order to maintain the privacy of the family, while the American filmmaker might show many close-ups of the family members. The researcher should understand these filmic cultural codes.

Cultural codes and the personal filmic style of the filmmaker can give much information to the researcher. An easy way to become familiarized with these is to view other movies from the country and the filmmaker. While watching these other movies, the researcher should take notes about the similarities and differences with the studied film. A serious analysis could be difficult to achieve without appropriate and substantial comparative data when analyzing movies to similar movies. If the researcher cannot view the films, their scripts and scholarly articles written about them can help to overcome this obstacle. If scholarly studies cannot be found due to the recent release of the film, newspapers articles of critiques may also be available.

For contemporary cinema, newspapers articles are sometimes the only documentation available. These critiques offer a 'first' critical impression of the movie making its premier appearance in theaters. These impressions are susceptible to changes as historical events and time influences our thoughts. As a spectator, we can agree or disagree with the opinion of the critic, but as a researcher our likes or dislikes should be of a secondary concern. The researcher should be cautious when using first impression arguments or opinions; instead he/she should place more credence in reliable proven and studied inquiry.

Newspapers articles, however, are useful tools that tune in our awareness of public reaction when the movie premiers. These articles are best served when comparing them in context to one another. The researcher should be aware of contract arrangements between 'for hire reviewers' and movie promoters who often times issue press releases on the film they are promoting. This is a cozy partnership whose primary intention is to make the film a commercial success. When analyzing and comparing newspaper articles, the researcher should:

1. Record the name of the newspaper, the date and title of the article and where it was published.
2. Seek a copy of the press release.
3. Highlight the adjectives and the expressions used to describe the movie.
4. Highlight the expressions and phrases where the critic gives his or her opinion.
5. Look for information about the actors, the filmmaker, the studio, and the reaction of the audience.
6. Classify the criticisms into negative or positive categories.
7. Record reactions and commentaries.

Newspapers articles also supply data on film as an industry in areas of commercial successes, popularity, financing, production histories, and distribution rights. The researcher should remember that film is an industry and a business. The study of the cinema market tells us about customer throughputs, gate receipts, origin of country, and the gender, age, social-economical, race and preferential make-up of the audiences that viewed the film. In addition to newspapers articles, there are industry journals that offer statistical market studies to help the researcher find answers to their questions. When conducting a quantified analysis of spectatorship, the researcher should compare the data from surveys, questionnaires, evaluations and assessments of the film industry. With these resources, researchers should be able to gather enough reliable data to help them profile the average customer of the studied film along the following parameters: age, residence, sex, education, profession, frequency of viewing cinema per week, month or year, ethnic background, and hobbies. This analysis is useful when explaining the general popularity or unpopularity of a movie from another.

As a spectator, the researcher can see literature similarly to film. This approach calls for the researcher spectator reader to analyze literature through a filmic prism. In analyzing the literary work, the researcher should seek answer to the following questions:

- What does the spectator-reader see and does not see in the literary text?
- Is the voice of the narrator in the narration?
- What is the profile of the average spectator-reader?
- What different angles are offered in the story?
- What is the role of secondary characters? Do they reappear in the story?

The researcher should analyze situations and descriptions in the literary text as if they were sequences in a movie. For example, a filmic approach about 'flashback' can help us understand its use in literary text. Film as in literary text often time shuffles the cards or sequences in order to tell multiple story lines in a short period of time. As these shuffles in time and place quicken, a remembered action remains just 'off camera' slightly there during the present action. To imagine literary text as movie helps the researcher to visualize the parallel actions

in time. The researcher should analyze the angles of the narration as if the narrator was a camera: is the camera-narrator a character inside the story? From what point of view is the narrator-camera describing the situation? Is the camera-narrator going back and forth from one action to the other or are the actions presented one after the other? What are the expressions or words that describe a scene as a sequence?

The researcher has to imagine that the reader is a spectator who is viewing a movie in a book. As a spectator, the reader is looking for emotions and entertainment. Literature and film can give both because they are artforms. Today's contemporary audience of literature and film is exigent and selective. The public expects certain themes to appear in books and movies. The researcher should analyze why the spectators chooses to purchase a particular book or to pay to see a movie. Newspapers articles, surveys and independent evaluations are all reliable data available to researchers. They are readily found in literary and cinema magazines, and in the Internet.

5. CONCLUSION

This guide provides a methodology of how to compare literature and film as texts and as artforms through the viewpoints of the researchers as readers or as spectators. Researchers engaged in comparative inquiry may apply these methods within a multiple array and genre of literature and film. While engaged in research and writing, researchers should often check the validity of their findings, examples, and their arguments in order to insure precision, clarity and well-argued conclusions. In doing so, researchers will find it easier to accomplish successful comparative analyses between literary works and filmic productions.

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Internet Resources for Comparative Literature and Cinema

1. Databases and Directories for Literature:

- <http://clwebjournal.lib.purdue.edu/library.html> - Database by the CLCWeb Library of Research and Information for Comparative Literature and Culture. The best for comparative literature and cultural studies.
- <http://lang.nagoya-u.ac.jp/~matsuoka/AmeLit.html> - Database about American authors and literature that includes texts.
- <http://www.library.yale.edu/internet/frenchsir.html> - Database from the Yale University Library for French language and literature.
- <http://www.library.yale.edu/internet/iberianlanglit.html> - Database from the Yale University Library for Iberian (Portuguese and Spanish) languages and literature.
- <http://www.library.uluc.edu/ala/alawess/index.html> - The WESS French studies. Database for French studies.
- <http://vos.ucsb.edu/browse.asp?id=3> - Voice of the Shuttle. Web sites database for literature in English.
- <http://vos.ucsb.edu/browse.asp?id=2719> - Voice of the Shuttle. Web sites database for Comparative literature.
- http://www.shsu.edu/~eng_wpf/amlitchron_index.html - Database about American writers from the 16th to the 20th centuries.

2. Databases and Directories for Film:

- <http://afi.cinemedia.org> - A film and media directory.
- <http://arts.ucsc.edu/rayFASC/welcome> - The Satyavit Ray Film Study Collection. Filmic and papers archives about the Indian filmmaker Satyavit Ray.
- <http://asiaonline.net.hk/~dianying/en> - The Chinese Movie Database for Chinese cinema.
- <http://egret0.stanford.edu/hk/hkquery.html> - The Hong Kong Movie Database for movies produced in Hong Kong.
- <http://kino.ch> - CineNet. Information and technical data for Swiss cinema in German.
- <http://library.adelaide.edu.au/guide/hum/french/film.html> - List of professional organizations, databases, directories, magazines and journals that deal with different aspects of French Film and Cinema by the Adelaide University Library.
- <http://www.allmovie.com> - All Movie Guide. General database on film with technical and artistic data and short reviews.
- <http://www.bfi.org.uk> - The British Film Institute. Database and archives for international and British cinema.

<http://www.brandeis.edu/jewishfilm/index.html> - The National Center Jewish Film. Filmic archives relevant to the Jewish experience. 30 films in Yiddish language.

<http://www.film100.com> - The Film 100. The one hundred most influential people in the history of cinema. Information about 100 professionals of the movie industry.

<http://www.imdb.com> - The Internet Movie Database. General, technical and artistic information about films from all around the world.

<http://www.lavavideo.org> - The Latin American Video Archive for Latino-American cinema.

<http://www.library.ywu.edu/ref/subguides/filmweb.htm> - List of selected international web sites that deal with international film and Chinese, French, German, Indian, Irish, Japanese, Latino-American, Polish, Soviet and East European, and South and East Asian cinema studies.

<http://www.library.yale.edu/humanities/film/for.html> - Bibliographic directory by the Yale University library. Direct links to the Chinese Movie Database for Chinese cinema; CineNet for Swiss cinema in German; the DEFA films available in the United States by the University of Massachusetts at Amherst for films produced by the German Democratic Republic that are available in North America; *Entreextremos*, Journal for Colombian cinema; The Hong Kong Movie Database for movies produced in Hong Kong; The Latin American Video Archive for Latino-American cinema; The National Center Jewish Film, filmic archives relevant to the Jewish experience; The Russian Movie Database for Russian cinema; The Satyavit Ray Film Study Collection, filmic and papers archives about the Indian filmmaker Satyavit Ray; Kinema Club, a forum of scholars studying Japanese cinema and the moving image media.

<http://www.nfb.ca> - Bilingual (English and French) Web page of the National Film Board of Canada / L'Office National du Film du Canada. Database and archives for international and Canadian cinemas and the Canadian filmic industry.

<http://www.serve.com/andrey/russian/movie/index.html> - The Russian Movie Database for Russian cinema.

<http://www.umass.edu/defa/titles.html> - Database of the DEFA films available in the United States by the University of Massachusetts at Amherst for films produced by the German Democratic Republic that are available in North America.

<http://www.tcf.ua.edu/SCREENsite> - Multilingual (English, French, German, Spanish and Swedish) database for film and television.

<http://www.tdfilm.com> - The Definitive Online Film Resource. A very complete database for film.

<http://www.uni-koeln.de/~ame02/gooscr.htm> - A list of film scripts links from Google.

<http://vicu.utoronto.ca/library/guides/film.htm> - Commented filmic bibliography of the E.J. Pratt Library, University of Toronto, Canada.

3. **Databases and Directories for Literature and Film:**

<http://library.wustl.edu/subjects/germanlit> - Database for German literature and film by the Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri.

<http://www.cam.org/~favrelp> - La Francophonie planétaire. Database in French about French culture and issues around the world.

<http://www.duke.edu/web/film> - Database for literature and film in general by the Duke University.

4. **Databases and Directories for Electronic Magazines and Journals**

<http://gort.ucsd.edu/newjour> - General database for electronic journals and newsletters.

<http://www.nla.gov.au/servlet/ajol> - Database for Australian journals through the National library of Australia. When search under 'film', it gives a list of sixteen online journals.

5. **Literary On-line Magazines and Journals:**

<http://clcwebjournal.pib.purdue.edu/index.html> - CLC Web. *A WWWeb journal Comparative Literature and Culture*. Free access to articles.

<http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/~clij> - *Comparative Literature*. The University of Oregon journal in Comparative Literature. Fee for access articles.

<http://depts.washington.edu/mlq> - *Modern Language Quarterly*. A journal of literary history. Free access for certain abstracts.

<http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/clc> - *Comparative Literature Studies*. The Pennsylvania State University journal in Comparative Literature. Fee for access articles.

<http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/dia> - *Diacritics*. Journal on literary criticism by the Johns Hopkins University Press. Fee for access.

<http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/mln> - *MLN*. Journal on critical studies in modern languages (French, German, Italian and Hispanic) and comparative literature by the Johns Hopkins University Press. Fee for access.

<http://paradoxa.com> - *Paradoxa*. Literary journal on genres.

<http://www.gc.maricopa.edu/laberinto> - *Laberinto*. An electronic journal of early Hispanic literature and culture.

<http://www.lehman.cuny.edu/ciberletras> - *Ciberletras*. Bilingual (English and Spanish) on literary criticism about Spanish and Latino American literature. Free access.

<http://www.mhra.org.uk/mlr> - *Modern Language Review*. Journal on medieval and modern literature in the languages of Europe (English, French, Germanic, Hispanic, Italian, Slavonic and East European studies, and general studies including linguistics, comparative literature and critical theory) by the Modern Humanities Research Association.

http://www.uchicago.edu/research/jnl_crit_inq/main.html - *Critical Inquiry*. The University of Chicago journal in Comparative Literature. Fee for access articles.

<http://www.ucm.es/info/especulo> - *Especulo: Revista de Estudios Literarios*. Journal in Spanish about Spanish literary studies by the Departamento de Filología Española III, Facultad de Ciencias de la Información, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Spain. Free access.

6. On-line Magazines and Journals for Cinema:

<http://jefferson.village.virginia.edu/pmc> - *PMC - Postmodern Culture*. An electronic journal published by the John Hopkins University dealing with studies in literature, film and postmodernism. Fee for access articles.

<http://wlt4.home.mindspring.com/FaFR.htm> - *Full Alert Film Review*. On-line journal about international and independent film. Free access.

<http://www.cinemastudies.org/cj.html> - *Cinema Journal*. Journal on film studies by the University of Texas Press.

<http://www.ejumcut.org/home.html> - *Jump Cut: a Review of Contemporary Media*. A nonsectarian left, feminist and anti-imperialist on-line publication on media criticism. Editors John HESS and Chuck KLEINHAUS. Free access.

<http://www.film.queensu.ca/FSAC/cjFs.html> - *Canadian Journal of Film Studies / Revue canadienne d'études cinématographiques*. Bilingual (English and French) Journal published by the Film Studies Association of Canada / l'Association Canadienne des Études Cinématographiques. Free access for current issue. Fee to access back issues.

http://www.heldref.org/html/body_jpf_t.html - *Journal of Popular Film and Television* by Heldref Publications. Fee to access articles.

<http://www.media-culture.org.au> - *Media-Culture Online*. An Australian journal on media and culture by the Media and Cultural Studies at the University of Queensland, Australia.

<http://www.nothingham.ac.uk/film/journal>. *Scope*. An on-line journal of film studies by the Institute of Film Studies at the University of Nottingham, Great Britain.

<http://www.imagesjournal.com> - *Images*. A journal of film and popular culture. Free access.

<http://www.press.jhu.edu/journals/griffithiana/index.html> - *Griffithiana*. Bilingual (English and Italian) international journal of film history edited by Davide TURCANI and Peter LEHMAN. Published by La Cineteca del Friulane. Fee to access articles.

<http://www.sensesofcinema.com> - *Senses of Cinema*. Journal for discussion on cinema.

<http://www.users.interport.net> - *Entreextremos*. Journal about Colombian cinema.

<http://www3.oup.co.uk/jnls/lists/screen> - *Screen*. Journal for academic film and television studies by the Oxford University Press. Fee to access articles.

7. Independent Scholarly Articles for Literature and Film:

<http://www.bham.ac.uk/DOPLA/materials/mod16.pdf> - "Approaches to Teaching Literacy and Cultural Studies". Article created 6/30/2000 explaining how to study literature and film as text.

<http://www.uni-koeln.de/~ame02/pppt.htm> - "A Guide to Narratological Film Analysis" by Manfred JAHN. Article about how to analyze a film as a narration. Update from October 2001.

8. Professional Organizations and Associations Web Sites for Literature and Film:

<http://www.acla.org> - Web page of the American Comparative Literature Association, the organization of scholars researching comparative literature in the United States.

<http://www.americancomm.org> – Web page of the American Communication Association, a professional association for the study of Human communication in the United States. Literature and film are analyzed through the prism of communication.

<http://www.bcla.org/index.html> – Web page of the British Comparative Literature Association (BCLA), the national organization of comparative literature researchers in Great Britain.

<http://www.byu.edu/~icla> – Web page of the International Comparative Literature Association (ICLA), an international organization that includes all the world associations in comparative literature.

<http://www.cinemastudies.org>. Web page for The Society for Cinema Studies, a professional organization for the study of the moving image.

<http://www.film.queensu.ca> – Bilingual (English and French) Web site of the Film Studies Association of Canada / l'Association Canadienne des Études Cinématographiques (FSAC / ACEC), the organization of film researchers in Canada.

<http://www.mhra.org.uk> – The Modern Humanities Research Association, a British organization on humanities research.

<http://www.mla.org> – The Modern Language Association, a national organization that includes researchers from modern languages and literature studies in the United States.

9. **Search Engines for Forums and Listservs:**

<http://www.francopholistes.com> – Francopholistes. Search engine for forums and listservs in French.

<http://www.forumone.com> – Forum One. Search engine for forums.

<http://www.liszt.com> – CataList – Catalog for listserv listings.

10. **Forums for Literature and Film:**

<http://cinetext.philo.at> – Bilingual (English and German) Internet forum for film and philosophy at the University of Vienna, Austria.

<http://gewi.funigraz.ac.at/~blimp/FFF> – Film Feature Forum. On-line bibliography of abstracts in English from eleven cinema journals published in Austria, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Germany, Great Britain, India, Netherlands, Slovenia, Sweden, and Switzerland.

<http://pears.lib.ohio-state.edu/Markus/Welcome.html> – Kinema Club. Forum of scholars studying Japanese cinema and the moving image media.

<http://www2.h-net.msu.edu/H-net> – International forum about cinema history and uses of the media from the Michigan State University.

11. **Listsers for Literature and Film:**

Comp-Lit@vm.sc.edu – Listserv of the Comparative Literature Committee from the University of South Carolina.

FSAC@yorku.ca – Bilingual (English and French) listserv of the Film Studies Association of Canada / l'Association Canadiennes des Études Cinématographiques (FSAC / ACEC) for international and Canadian film.

Horror@Indiana.edu or Horror@listserv.Indiana.edu – Listserv for horror in Film and Literature by Indiana University.

<http://www.lsoft.com/scripts/wl.exe?qL=film+&F=L&F=L> – List of listserv about all aspects of cinema.

<http://www.tcf.ua.edu/SCREENsite/res/listserv/sl-invite.htm>. Listserv for scholars and students in film and television.

Lavelle-suscribe@topica.com – Listserv about any aspect (film, television) related to written science fiction.

listproc@cc.umontreal.ca – Listserv about Balzac by the University of Montreal.

lemonromance@topica.com – Listserv for writers and editors of romantic stories.

New-publishing-suscribe@topica.com – Listserv for authors who have published online.

Sciencefiction-l@Indiana.edu or Sciencefiction-l@listserv.Indiana.edu – Listserv for science fiction in Film and Literature by Indiana University.

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THROUGH THE KALEIDOSCOPE: THE FUNCTION OF THE PHARMAKON IN ALAIN ROBBE-GRILLET'S *JEALOUSY*

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ABSTRACT

It is often said that the traditional French novel is a reflection in a mirror. The role of narrative is to portray a certain reality by using local color, realistic descriptions of people and events in order to satisfy the reader and bring about a sense of resolution. Alain Robbe-Grillet's novel *Jealousy* challenges the function of description in the traditional novel by deconstructing it in the conventional framework. The traditional novel is turned on its ear by the author who uses simplistic narrative as a means to disorient the reader, thus forcing him to relearn how to read. The complexity of events and their ambiguous fragmented repetition produce unstable shifts in images and description that create the problem in coherency. It is the constant recurrence of certain key images such as the centipede that generates this cycle of confusion due to the over-emphasis of what appears to be an ordinary object. Jacques Derrida's model of the pharmakon is the "drug" that is both "the remedy and poison". The pharmakon is jealousy itself, both as an emotion and as the poison and remedy. This analysis will take a closer look at jealousy as the pharmakon and its role throughout the novel and the manner in which it aids the reader in finding stable ground.

Perhaps the most fascinating quality of Alain Robbe-Grillet's novel *Jealousy* is the presentation of ordinary, everyday images. Robbe-Grillet's novel challenges the function of description in the traditional novel by using simplistic narrative as a means to force the reader to become an active participant. Before the new novel entered the literary scene, the role of narrative in the traditional framework was to portray a specific reality by using local color and realistic descriptions of people and events in order to satisfy the reader and bring about a sense of resolution. Description was spoon fed to the reader by an author who used narrative with authority. However, Robbe-Grillet destroys this convention with ambiguous, fragmented descriptions that result in a problem of coherency because repetition and the complexity of events produce unstable shifts in the portrayal of imagery. All images occur at least twice, although the main focus is on the most memorable and perhaps perplexing images in the text: the centipede. In order to understand how this image occurs in the framework of the text, it is necessary first to examine the use of language and the relationship to the other surrounding episodes since these provide the key to unlocking the "fil conducteur" necessary for Jacques Derrida's Pharmakon.

Because this discussion focuses only on the centipede, it is necessary to closely investigate each episode in order to find the common characteristic in each appearance. The centipede emerges sixteen times in the text in some state or form although not without slight modification. Each new version of the story is created with fragments of its predecessors like shapes and colors of a jostled kaleidoscope. The original encounter with the centipede occurs near the beginning of the text during the first dinner of the Husband, his wife A..., and their neighbor Franck. Unlike the images afterwards, this one is of the remains of an invertebrate supposedly squashed sometime in the unknown past. This is indicated by the Husband's reference to time and the use of the imperfect past tense in the following description. According to him, it "was squashed last week, at the beginning of the month, perhaps the month before, or later." (47) This first description scrambles the notion of past, present and future, those elements which are usually firmly established by the author in a traditional novel in which time is linear and necessary for the advancement of plot. Obviously, the reader would not know that a live centipede exists if he only accepted this first version. It reveals absolutely nothing about a living, whole creature, but rather a mysterious "black mark". Given only these vague details, the reader would naturally assume this event took place in the past because of the Husband's use of the imperfect past tense. Also, he might accept this version because the traditional framework has taught the reader to blindly trust the author without questioning his authority. As the reader encounters more episodes and competing descriptions of the centipede he quickly relearns how to read based on the nature of Robbe-Grillet's description.

If the reader just evaluated the first episode it would be impossible for him to understand the fifteen other descriptions in the following text. The reader's next encounter with the centipede occurs 12 pages after the first episode. The second and third episodes are modified, extended, and detailed descriptions of a dead centipede

but the narrator still gives no indication that this is the same or a different creature. Nevertheless, this uncertainty will not last long since shortly thereafter the reader will be hit with A...’s horrific outburst of “a centipede!” in the middle of page 64. This moment in the fourth description is pivotal because it is then that the reader begins to entertain the idea of multiple centipedes.

The creature is easy to identify thanks to the development of its legs, especially on the posterior position. On closer examination the swaying movement of the antennae at the other end can be discerned. (64)

Only two pages before the centipede was a black mark on the wall. Common sense and previous experience tells the reader that the prior descriptions occurred in the past by the narrator’s usage of past tense. The transformation from dead to living seems illogical and disconcerting. The twelve descriptions that follow continue in similar fashion, modifications of the first three, and offer little insight, especially when the narrator describes a black mark “about a yard higher, the paint is marked with a dark shape, a tiny arc twisted into a question mark...” (65) The moment the reader stumbles upon this version a new question arises. Is the “black mark” the “question mark” on the wall? The continual shifts in verb tenses, descriptions, and length make it difficult to find concrete proof of the specific number of creatures, let alone distinguish between the two different types of marks. Now the questions that need to be answered are exactly how many centipedes are there and what are the causes of the shifts in time and description. To provide a “fil conducteur” in navigating through the abyss it is necessary to take a closer look at the role of jealousy.

Jealousy, in addition to being the title of the text, is the powerful underlying current that controls the description of images. According to *Le Robert Micro*, jealousy is defined as being a “sentiment mauvais qu’on éprouve en voyant un autre jouir d’un avantage qu’on ne possède pas ou qu’on désirerait posséder seul,” or a “sentiment douloureux que fait naître, chez celui qui l’éprouve, le désir de possession exclusive de la personne aimée,” (730). Desire is the basis of both definitions because it is this unbridled coveting that triggers the anger that results in obsession. In the conflict between Adam and Eve’s sons Cain and Abel from the Book of Genesis, it is Cain’s anger which develops into jealousy when he becomes aware of the Lord’s attention towards his brother Abel, thus turning into destructive obsession that ultimately results in Abel’s murder.

Conversely in the novel *Jealousy*, the emotion is that of a husband’s jealousy directed towards his wife and her lover. His jealousy becomes an obsession; it drives him to the point of madness, and is illustrated in the speed and tenses of all descriptions present. The Husband desires his wife A... and perhaps even their life before the affair and it is this longing for the past, which becomes directed into an intense anger toward her and Franck. The Husband’s anger is the catalyst because it is what dictates the speed, time, and details of all the images throughout the text as seen in the following passage.

This is the moment when the scene of the squashing of the centipede on the bare wall occurs: Franck stands up, picks up his napkin, approaches the wall, squashes the centipede against the wall, lifts his napkin, squashes the centipede on the floor. (89)

These lines from the seventh episode are a condensed version of the entire account of the centipede. Being only one full sentence, this account has no unnecessary feathery details and a direct style. If the reader refers to the second episode he will immediately notice the full-page length of the description. As the Husband’s anger intensifies and his obsession becomes stronger, the description of the event becomes more blunt. Here jealousy speeds the movement of the narration and transports the reader to the next event and while doing so introduces incomprehension.

Time and speed become distorted due to the intensity (or lack thereof) of the Husband’s emotional reaction. The text’s exceptionality occurs from its distortion of time and the treatment of it by Robbe-Grillet. Because the reader now knows there is only one centipede, he can observe how jealousy weaves itself into the timeline. The key indicator is the usage of verb tenses in all the episodes and it is necessary to revisit the centipede’s first appearance on page 47. As mentioned before, the Husband’s description appears to have taken place in the

past, but has it? Knowing that his anger and obsession are the forces that determine the manner and content of the descriptions, the reader must realize that the Husband's perception of time has been altered by his anger. The Husband becomes so enraged that he is blinded by the paranoia and the desire of the past that he displaces himself from reality.

As well as being altered by speed and time, the descriptions become modified by the intensity of the Husband's emotional level. Again, we need to refer to the previous episode on page 89 and compare it to the lengthy description of the ninth that goes into a detailed, biological description of the centipede. Perhaps the Husband is contemplating the affair or maybe he is completely obsessed with the fact that A... is no longer part of his life. We may never know the true meaning behind the descriptions. However it is evident that the Husband's intense jealousy is the key factor in how all the descriptions are presented.

A pharmakon is a "drug" and something that acts "as both a remedy and poison" (429). In the case of *La Jalousie*, the pharmakon is jealousy itself, both as an emotion and as the poison and remedy. It is the unseen force which propels the Husband's incessant obsessions with A..., Franck, and ordinary objects. It is the pharmakon for the Husband because it is the hindrance that constantly clouds his perception and judgement, along with the reader's, because it completely deconstructs the creation of the traditional nineteenth century novel by destroying the notion of a place-less, omniscient narrator.

There are numerous times in the text when the Husband uses "perhaps" or "probably" during descriptions of certain events, namely those involving A... and Franck. The repetitive usage of these words displays not only a collapse in the Husband's judgement as it exposes his mental instability but also the breakdown of the narrative assumptions that underlie the genre of the novel.

She rests her other hand on the arm of the chair and
bends over him, so close that their heads touch. He
murmurs a few words: probably thanking her. (43)

The above lines from the drink scene on the veranda show a loss in certainty and also show how the pharmakon fuels the Husband's unhealthy fixation with everyone and everything around him. A small, insignificant action such as an inaudible murmur is enough to trigger his imagination and start an unending spiral of obsession. Even though he claims it was nothing more than a thank-you, it is the lack of concrete information that feeds his anger and pushes it to the point of insanity. And in an extraordinary way, it also takes an element of the nineteenth century traditional novel to such an extreme that it forces the conventional framework to rupture. In the novels of Balzac, Flaubert, and Zola the narration always depended on a fixation with objects since it is the obsession that drives the narration in the traditional framework.

Another way in which jealousy acts is as a pollutant that contaminates the Husband's relationship with A... by driving a wedge between them and killing the remaining feelings he has for her. It is obvious at the beginning that the marriage is strained due to the lack of physical and verbal interaction between the couple, however the reader can only speculate on the original cause of the marital discord and the reason that drove A... to Franck. A... constantly excludes herself from the Husband by choosing to interact with their neighbor Franck. The jealousy corrupts the marriage by sowing seeds of hatred and contempt that eventually surface towards the end in the following description.

The car immediately bursts into flames. The whole
brush is illuminated by the crackling, spreading fire. (114)

Here, the reader receives a glimpse of the Husband's daydream and possible scenario that could have happened to A... and Franck during their day trip into town. The Husband's jealousy reaches its climax at this point because it is the first time he wishes harm on either Franck or his wife. The moment the Husband feels this type of overwhelming, obsessive animosity, his heart is completely poisoned and he is compelled to become a prisoner and is condemned to an unending nightmare of obsession that will eventually drive him insane.

In opposition to being the contaminator, jealousy is also the antidote that remedies the problem of coherency. The main causes of confusion for the reader are the disarticulated structures of episodes, bizarre

juxtapositions, and non-linear treatment of time, all of which challenge the conventional idea of structure and role of the narrator. The remedy portion of the pharmakon justifies the fragmentation because it is the cause of the Husband's unhealthy fixations that set off the shifts of verb tenses, details, and events. On the flip side, the Husband is both the narrator and the mysterious missing character of the text, thus satisfying the pharmakon. The Husband is the cause of the fragmented structure and satisfies the pharmakon at the same time because he is both the reason for the disarticulation and provides the answer to the cause. Nonetheless, it does not fully resolve the problem of comprehension entirely although it provides a "fil conducteur" for the reader.

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THE TRAGIC FATE OF THE "OTHER"

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In Stendhal's *The Red and The Black* and Flaubert's *Madame Bovary*, the fate of two main female characters demonstrates the central thesis of Simone de Beauvoir's famous *Second Sex*: in a world which is dominated by men, "he is the Subject, he is the Absolute—she is the Other."

Studying two main female characters in Stendhal's *The Red and The Black* and Flaubert's *Madame Bovary*, we find that Madame de Rênal and Madame Bovary share a common fate, that of being the "Other" of men. Both of them are dependent on their husband or lovers. Through men, they exist and dream and try to make their dream come true. Their fate of being the "Other" demonstrates the central thesis of Simone de Beauvoir's famous *Second Sex*: in a world dominated by men, "He is the Subject, he is the Absolute—she is the Other." According to Simone de Beauvoir, women's secondary standing is not imposed of necessity by natural "feminine" characteristics but rather by strong environmental forces of educational and social tradition under the purposeful control of men. In *The Red and The Black* and *Madame Bovary*, men's education helps them succeed. For Julien Sorel, education is the key to open the door to a new world and for Charles Bovary, education gives him a good job and a beautiful wife. But for Madame de Rênal, education teaches her to obey her husband and for Madame Bovary, education brings her only unattainable dreams. In fact, both of them accept, consciously or subconsciously, their role to be man's dependent, the role of the "Other". Because of this dependence, women can not escape their tragic fate.

In a male dominated world, the role of women is preordained: a woman is relegated to the role of the "Other", the "Other" of man. In the Introduction to *The Second Sex*, Simone de Beauvoir wrote, "Elle se détermine et se différencie par rapport à l'homme et non celui-ci par rapport à elle; elle est l'inessentiel en face de l'essentiel. Il est le Sujet, il est l'Absolu: elle est l'Autre." ("She is defined and differentiated with reference to man and not he with reference to her, she is the inessential as opposed to the essential. He is the Subject, he is the Absolute – she is the Other.")

Madame de Rênal and Emma Bovary are two principal female characters in Stendhal's *The Red and the Black* and Flaubert's *Madame Bovary*. Although their personalities and situations are different, they share a common destiny: to be the "Other" of a man. Both of them are, and always have been attached to one or many men. Both of them realize and accept this attachment, recognizing that their existence and self-fulfillment are actualized through the man to whom they are bound. Both of them have no other choice because to, "refuser d'être l'Autre, refuser la complicité avec l'homme, ce serait pour elles renoncer à tous les avantages que l'alliance avec la caste supérieure peut leur conférer." ("To decline to be the Other, to refuse to be a party to the deal – this would be for women to renounce all the advantages conferred upon them by their alliance with the superior caste.") For women, their superior caste has always been men.

In *The Second Sex*, Beauvoir condemned the distinction between a woman's biological sex and the "feminine" role defined by the "ensemble de la civilisation". In this sense, sex is imposed on women not only by nature, but also and particularly by society. In *The Red and the Black* and *Madame Bovary*, we can see how the social upbringing elevates man to the role of the "Subject" and the "Absolute" while reducing woman to the role of the "Object" or the "Other".

Julien Sorel, who comes from a peasant family, distinguishes himself from his family and close acquaintances by his knowledge of Latin and his religious studies. For Julien, his education serves as a ladder with which to climb the social hierarchy, to pursue his personal happiness. His education helps Julien to establish himself in society. He is born a man, and society makes him a man.

Contrary to the Julien's social education, which readies him for his place in society, that of Mme de Rênal only readies her to be a model, yet passionless, spouse.

Having been raised in a convent, Mme de Rênal is a product of this religious education. Upon leaving the convent, she is nothing but a wax virgin, so sweet and so naive. She lives out her existence with a sort of passivity, if not outright indifference. She is the rich inheritor of a devoted aunt. All that's left for her to do is to

marry the right man. In fact, aside from becoming a nun, marriage is almost the only way a woman can gain recognition by the society. At 16 years old, Mme de Rênal marries a "good and honest" man. What are her feelings towards this man? Passion, she knows not. She accepts him, and even finds him, "beaucoup moins ennuyeux que tous les hommes de sa connaissance." ("far less boring than all the other men of her acquaintance.") Mme de Rênal is certainly not romantic—unlike Emma Bovary; she does not complain about her fate. For Mme de Rênal, marriage is a need, a guarantee to the right of benefit of being attached to a man, of being his "Other".

In *Madame Bovary*, there is a contrast between the effects of Charles' education and that of Emma. At the beginning of the novel, by the scene of "la casquette (the cap) de Charles", we meet young, mediocre, clumsy and ridiculous Charles. Forced by his parents to study medicine, he understands nothing in his classes. In the end, thanks to his good memory, he rather honorably succeeds in the exam. Here's a mediocre young man who becomes an "officier de santé". Charles not only finds a respectable job, he also gets to marry the young and beautiful Emma. This second marriage is due, in large part, to his job.

It is clear in the novel that Emma is more determined and smarter than Charles. She's a woman who, "n'aimait la mer qu'à cause de ses tempêtes." ("love the ocean only because of its storms.") At age 13, her father placed her in a convent. She is intelligent and hardworking. She is also a girl fascinated with fairy tales and stories of love. She is full of romantic dreams and aspires to live in the dream worlds of all the novels she has read.

Like Julien, Emma comes from a peasant family. Yet, for Emma, it is not her education, which will open the door to opportunity, but her marriage that helps her leave her father's farm. In fact, when Charles asks for her hand in marriage, she is more than willing. She believes herself to be feeling all the sentiments of passion, love, and devotion which she had heard spoken of so many times before for this beloved man. Her dreams do not last. She realizes right away that this man she's married, her *husband*, is only a simple, mediocre man with no dreams. He cannot possibly satisfy her material and spiritual needs. Emma's disenchantment with her humble takes root after attending the ball at the castle of Vaubyessard. The disparity between the real world and her dreams causes Emma to plunge herself once more into the world of novels. But the more she reads, the more hopeless and desperate the real world awaiting her becomes. Emma falls deeper and deeper into this black hole.

The tragedy of Mme Bovary is that she is a woman. Man, be he weak or strong, always has the right and the means to try to be fulfilled within his power. While a woman does not even have the right to play to game—a privilege of men only—she is only the object of this game, only the object of men. Woman does not exist as an independent individual, but rather as the Other of men. In lieu of using her own power to find happiness, she is obliged to search for it through a man.

Since this is a man's world, since "the two sexes have never shared the world in equality", women have no other choice than to accept their role subordinate to men, who as the Subjects, possess the absolute power.

In fact, Emma does not resign herself to the role of Other, but resists it. She can barely stand the sight of her daughter, who seems to her ugly. Emma, who has wanted a son, does not love her daughter. Berthe represents for Emma, all the horrors of being a woman. This horror extends even to motherhood.

Emma becomes aware of her subordinate role and she detests it. She wants to be a man; she wants to be the Subject. At the beginning of the novel, despite her feminine appearance, a slight detail catches Charles' eye: "Elle portait, comme un homme, passé entre deux boutons de son corsage, un lorgnon d'écaille." ("She had, like a man, thrust in between two buttons of her bodice a tortoise-shell eyeglass.") At a time when there was a clear difference between men's and women's fashions, this masculine accoutrement represents Emma's resistance of the feminine sex.

During her liaison with Rodolphe, undeniable a very happy time for Emma, she undergoes a great change: "(...) une cigarette à la bouche, comme pour narguer le monde: enfin, ceux qui doutaient encore ne doutèrent plus quand on la vit, un jour descendre de l'Hirondelle, la taille serrée dans un gilet à la façon d'un homme." ("(...)a cigarette in her mouth, as if to defy the people. At last, those who still doubted no longer when

one day they saw her getting out of the "Hirondelle", her waist squeezed into a waistcoat like a man"). Dressing and smoking like a man reflect Emma's aspiration: she wants to be a man, to be the Subject and to enjoy all the privileges of that sex: independence, liberty, and even domination.

Both Madame de Rênal and Madame Bovary are beautiful and intelligent women. Each possesses in her heart the fire of passion and is not wanting for courage. However, as women, they can never escape their common destiny to be the Other: the Other of their husbands and of their lovers; in one word, the Other of man. It is a tragic destiny: Madame de Rênal dies three days after Julien's death; Emma, abandoned and desperate, swallows arsenic. Man and woman, they are each born equal and free. But the male dominated society makes man the Subject and woman the Other, the Object. In this society, woman has no other choice but to accept this subordinate position. And yet, in recognizing the power of men as Subject, woman tries to gain self-fulfillment through man, even to make herself like a man. Unfortunately, it seems these attempts do not succeed. In effect, woman can never change her destiny as long as the world remains dominated by and belongs only to man. For, in the words of Simone de Beauvoir, "On ne naît pas femme, on le devient" ("We are not born a woman, we become one").

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III. Linguistics

SPEECH IS IN THE EAR OF THE LISTENER: SOME REMARKS ON THE ACQUISITION OF SECOND LANGUAGE SOUNDS.

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ABSTRACT

In this paper I will propose the notion of "repair" to account for the way in which listeners react to second language speech. Confronted with foreign speech, the listener "makes up for what has gone wrong in L2" from his native language perspective, i.e. he suppresses processes which "must have happened in L2" to result in the output s/he hears. I will claim that the suppressed processes can be found in the listener's native casual speech, and that they can be reinforced and made conscious for the benefit of the acquisition of second language speech.

INTRODUCTION: PHILOLOGY AND SLA

I would like to begin this paper by identifying a common setting for all of us present here, i.e. students of languages, linguistics and literature. In the ancient times, the study of texts from both linguistic and literary perspective was given the name of *philology*, from Gr. *filéo* 'I love', *lógos* 'word'. Throughout history, the term has acquired a variety of meanings to cover different ranges of disciplines, and also today it is not unambiguous. What we call *linguistics* constituted part of philology until the 19th century. Nowadays, conventionally, philology refers to all scholarly disciplines devoted to the study of a given language or languages as well as its (their) literature and culture. This understanding of the term is largely shared by European academics in Slavic, Germanic or Romance tradition, which manifests itself, for instance, in the names given to departments, institutes, or faculties of languages and literatures, containing a word *philology*.

A College of Languages, Linguistics and Literature is thus a philological college, whose students share at least one common interest, the interest in language. It is demonstrated by interdisciplinary research, when linguistic and literary methodologies are mutually applied to those areas as well as when bridge theories to other disciplines (e.g. psychology, sociology, philosophy, intercultural communication, biology) are built. One such interdisciplinary area, which requires a versatile background to be truly explored, is the area of second language studies. Another such area is stylistics. The question of language acquisition is of relevance both to those for whom language is a tool and to those for whom it is an object of study. The same can be said about style, which can be defined as variation in linguistic texts, spoken or written, literary or non-literary, as determined by aesthetic and contextual factors. So called applied stylistics is an approach to the description of texts which is informed by models of linguistics, for example from the fields of pragmatics and discourse analysis (cf. Carter 1992: 80)¹. Variation in the use of sounds of a language is termed phonostylistics. In our native language we always use some style of speaking, appropriate to the circumstances. This should also be the case in a second language we learn. In this talk I will focus primarily on the phonostylistic aspect of second language acquisition.

Hawai'i offers an exceptionally rich source of data for research in second language acquisition due to its multilingual and multicultural characteristics. For the same reason, the need for this type of research is greater here. One wonders about how second language speech is acquired as well as how to facilitate the process. Is it possible to become a native-speaker of many tongues and what does it mean to be a native-speaker? Is a multilingual and multidialectal background detrimental or conducive to attaining success in acquisition? Is one's first language an obstacle in the process? These and numerous other questions have been pervading research in second language acquisition for decades.

My own research in the area has concentrated on the acquisition of second language speech, i.e. on phonology, and in particular, phonotactics and phonostylistics. In this paper I will propose the notion of "repair" to account for the way in which listeners react to second language speech. Confronted with foreign speech, the listener "makes up for what has gone wrong in L2" from his native language perspective, i.e. he suppresses processes which, according to him/her, "must have happened in L2" to result in the output s/he hears. I will

claim that the suppressed processes can be found in the listener's native casual speech, and that they can be reinforced and made conscious for the benefit of the acquisition of second language speech. Conscious knowledge of grammar will be thus advocated also on the level of phonetics and phonology, parallel to the conscious learning of syntax and morphology. On some other occasion I referred to this knowledge as a controlled or conscious competence of performance, i.e. a conscious knowledge of and about the grammar of a language, based on both internal and external linguistic evidence. Making the learner metalinguistically aware of phonetics and phonology as much as of morphology, syntax, semantics as well as socio-pragmatics will facilitate his/her acquisition of a second language, i.e. the development of second language competence.

Firstly, I will shortly argue for the choice of a theoretical framework in which my research is conducted. Secondly, I will discuss the proposed notion of "repair" and illustrate it with examples. Thirdly, I will treat the notion of style and "phonostyle" in some detail, which is necessary to support the notions of repair and conscious competence of performance. Next, I will present empirical evidence supporting the claims made (from my own and others' research). Finally, I will summarize by arguing for the necessity of reference to the already present "competences" in the learner's mind (L1 and its dialects and styles, L2s).

1. THE FRAMEWORK: NATURAL LINGUISTICS (NL)

Naturalness in linguistics can be traced back to Plato and in the modern times to such distinguished linguists as Jan Baudouin de Courtenay and Edward Sapir. In the 60's and 70's of the 20th century David Stampe and Patricia Donegan developed a theory of Natural Phonology (Stampe 1969, Stampe 1979, Donegan and Stampe 1979), according to which "the conditions of the *use* of language (performance) are responsible for the *nature* of language" (Stampe 1979: 43). This means that performance data, known as external linguistic evidence, such as e.g. stylistic variation or speech of second language learners, provides evidence for the structure of the speaker's competence. "This is not by any means a peculiarity of phonology, but phonology presents a particularly striking case" (Stampe 1979: 43). The effort to extend this idea to other components of language (in morphology, text, syntax, pragmatics, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics) was indeed undertaken by Wolfgang U. Dressler (e.g. Dressler 1984, 1985, 1990, 1996, 1999) and others, and resulted in the creation of the framework of Natural Linguistics.

Consequently, to get an insight into linguistic competence of language users, a natural linguist needs to consult both internal linguistic evidence (which basically amounts to grammaticality judgements issued by speakers, both consciously and subconsciously) and external evidence, i.e. all imaginable facets of linguistic behaviour, i.e. of language use, traditionally referred to as performance. This view makes NL very suitable for dealing with the issues concerning us in this paper. What we need in particular for phonology is the view on representations and processes.

The basic explanatory principle in natural phonology is the tension between clarity of perception and ease of articulation (Donegan and Stampe 1979: 130). The tension is manifested by the workings of processes of contradictory teleologies. The speaker and listener share the aim of either encoding or decoding the underlying intention of speech. The idea of the intention or "Lautabsicht" goes back to the tradition of the mental phoneme (Baudouin de Courtenay 1895, Sapir 1933). According to Stampe, the underlying segments possess ontologically the same status as the surface segments:

"they are mental representations of sounds which are, at least in principle, pronounceable" (Stampe 1979: 35).

Phonological processes are the manifestations of the limitations of human vocalization and perception: they adapt the speaker's phonological intentions to his/her phonetic capacities as well as enable the listener to decode the intentions from the flow of speech. They begin their operation in early childhood as natural responses to two conflicting phonetic forces of dissimilation and assimilation. The child has to suppress all those substitutions which do not apply in his/her native language. A failure to substitute results in change; a failure to substitute in a given style by an adult results in variation, and eventually may also lead to change.

In order to establish a possible phonological representation, the principle of *naturalness* has been proposed:

if a given utterance is naturally pronounceable as the result of a certain intention, then that intention is a natural perception of the utterance (i.e. a possible phonological representation) (Donegan and Stampe 1979: 163).

The ideas of: perception in terms of intentions underlying speech, of natural processes mediating between intention and actual pronunciation, and the principle of naturalness in establishing underlying representations prove instrumental in accounting for perception of second language speech and, ultimately, for its production.

2. SPEECH IS IN THE EAR OF THE LISTENER

2.1 L1 English – L2 Polish

The most vital distinction in the acquisition of second language speech is the one between perception and production. Let us draw a scenario of the listener's subconscious mental activities when confronted with a string of foreign sounds. For example, a native speaker of English hears a Polish word *ptak* [πτᾱκ] 'bird': s/he tries to mentally map it on some familiar L1 string, but this mapping is unsuccessful since s/he cannot find any word in English beginning with [πτ-]; the near matches are the words in which the cluster is broken by an unaccented vowel, e.g. *potato* or *potential*; s/he concludes that the speakers of Polish must have deleted this vowel in the word *ptak* and decides to suppress this deletion: this is a moment of "repair" which leads from an unfamiliar intention /πτᾱκ/ to a familiar production [πτ'ετᾱκ]. In terms of processes, it is a suppression of a putative vowel deletion process of a second language (which actually manifests itself as a vowel insertion in the learner's production of a second language word). Apparently, the learner suppresses the vowel deletion process since there is no such process in his L1 in this context. Is it really the case, however? In fact, in casual speech *potato* is pronounced as [πτ'ετᾱκ↔Y], without native speakers of English realizing it, since their underlying intention contains a vowel /↔/ between /π/ and /τ/: i.e., in L1, the path leads the native listener from an underlying intention (=perception) /π↔τ'ετᾱκ↔Y/ to the actual casual production [πτ'ετᾱκ↔Y]. Note that we have just discovered the relevant vowel deletion process in the learner's native speech.

What this scenario has shown us is that a remedy against an unwelcome "repair" in second language speech of the learner can be found in the learner's own native language. Specifically, one should look for a process suppressed by "repair" in the learner's casual speech phonology. In order to make the learner apply the same process in the relevant context of a second language, we should provide him/her with an appropriate input to the process, i.e. an underlying intention different from the actual L2 output we want to achieve. In the discussed case, the learner should intend to say /π↔τ'ετᾱκ/, which is expected to trigger the application of his native English unaccented vowel deletion to arrive at the target [πτᾱκ]. To facilitate this procedure, adult learners should be made aware of the process applying in their own casual speech. Conscious competence of performance is expected to increase the chances of success in adult learners due to their cognitive capacities for learning (which are fully developed in contrast to those of an infant in L1 acquisition).

2.2 L1 Japanese – L2 English

Let us examine further examples of "repair". For instance, a native speaker of Japanese hears an English word *spoon*: matching with native lexical intentions is unsuccessful since no word begins with [σπ-] in Japanese (or with any other cluster, for that matter, of course). The near matches would be those words which begin with a [σᾱπ-]; the learner concludes that the speakers of English must have deleted the vowel in between [σ] and [π] and decides to suppress this deletion: we recognize this is again as a moment of "repair" which leads from an unfamiliar intention /σπᾱ:v/ to a familiar production [σᾱπᾱᾱN]. In terms of processes, it is a suppression of a putative vowel deletion process of a second language (which actually manifests itself as a vowel insertion in the learner's production of a second language word). Apparently, the learner suppresses the vowel deletion process since there is no such process in his L1 in this context. Is it really the case, however?

Japanese has a process of devoicing of high vowels /u/ (realised phonetically as [ɯ]) and /i/ in a voiceless environment, e.g. in [κᾱ8τᾱᾱ] 'shoe', [ηᾱΣᾱ8] 'chopsticks', [σᾱ8κοΣᾱ8] 'a little', [κᾱ8σᾱτᾱ8] 'season' (first

two examples from Shibatani 1987: 865; the other two from Hasegawa 1979: 127). The vowels devoice only when not contiguous to a voiced sound and they do not devoice when initial or accented. The phenomenon also depends on speech tempo: "in slow, deliberate speech, devoicing is less frequent" (Shibatani 1987: 865). Also according to Hasegawa (1979: 127): "the formalization of this process is not so simple in slow or careful speech, it is generalized and simplified in a fast speech context". Although Hasegawa (1979) makes a distinction between fast and casual speech (I will return to this later when defining phonostylistics), still both authors seem to agree that the process of vowel devoicing may apply in slow/careful speech while generalizing with increasing tempo.

Coming back to the Japanese learner of English: we have discovered a process weakening a vowel (not really deleting it) in the L1 of the learner, which in its perceptual effect corresponds to vowel deletion. This may be the process, which the learner suppressed while attempting to produce the word *spoon*. Again, we have found a remedy against an unwelcome "repair" in second language speech of the learner in the learner's own native language. In order to make the learner apply the same process in the relevant context of a second language, we should provide him/her with an appropriate input to the process, i.e. an underlying intention different from the actual L2 output we want to achieve. In the discussed case, the learner should intend to say /σ̥απ̥ααN/, which is expected to trigger the application of his native Japanese high vowel devoicing to arrive at the pronunciation [σ̥α8π̥ααN]. This does not result yet in an ideal English target, but in my opinion sufficiently corresponds to an initial cluster to the ear of any listener whose language has clusters. I have conducted a little perceptual test in this respect myself. I recorded a Japanese colleague and asked her to read the same text at a slow pace and fast. To my ear, many words had "consonant clusters" in both readings: what I heard as clusters were consonants flanking the devoiced vowels. (For example, in both tempos, I heard the polite form of the past tense marker *-mashita* pronounced as [-μα̥αΣτα]).

For the purposes of SLA, adult Japanese learners should be made aware of the process applying in their own fast/casual speech and trained to "overgeneralize" it to apply to other vowels, too. For example, an English loan-word *strike* is rendered in Japanese as [σ̥α8τορ̥αικ̥α8]. The learner would have to "generalize" his high vowel devoicing to weaken also the vowel [o] in this particular word.

2.3 From Intention to Production

A "repair" can thus be defined as a strategy, which leads the L2 learner from an unfamiliar intention – a word of L2, to a familiar production – repaired by suppression of an assumed L2 process. The claim of this paper is that the assumed process functions "somewhere" in the learner's phonology, in particular, in casual speech. Since casual speech processes make production most remote from intention (because they serve the speaker), language users do not realize their existence.

Speaker-friendly processes of casual speech are often articulatorily motivated violations of language-specific phonotactic structure conditions stored in the lexicon (the violations take the form of deletions, extensions of assimilations, simplifications). The learner has his/her own L1 structure conditions (L1 phonotactics), but also universal phonotactics which makes him/her aware of a scale of difficulty of sequences (so, s/he would prefer CV to CCV and *tra* to *pta*). Phonotactics is listener-friendly, so the learner's perception is in terms of what's dictated to him/her by listener-friendly conditions on structures; however, those structures get simplified for the sake of the speaker in casual speech. Languages have different levels of rigidity in constraining their phonotactics (English *potato* is more rigid than Polish *ptak*), but what is constrained lexically, may be released phonostylistically – cf. [πτ̥εlt̥α↔Y]².

We have thus applied the naturalness principle (*if a given utterance is naturally pronounceable as the result of a certain intention, then that intention is a possible phonological representation*) in SLA: we provided the learner with an engineered L2 intention which led him/her to an expected L2 pronunciation by means of the application of his/her natural casual L1 and universal processes.

One can use some other sources for such engineered intentions to help learners, e.g. in emphatic speech, in which actually intentions are pronounced (for instance, speakers of the languages with final obstruent devoicing

may be able to suppress it in emphatic speech, e.g. "Powiedziałam: /k δ/, nie /k τ/" 'I said *code*, not *cat*'; this may be used to teach to pronounce final voiced obstruents in the languages like English). Also allophonic and morphophonemic processes in L1 may produce L2 intentions for the learner (e.g. learners can arrive at an L2 phoneme by applying a process which derives it to a native string: /ξ+ɪ/ = [X] = /X/). However, in this paper I concentrate on first language casual speech as a source of processes which may become useful in SLA. This includes also the acquisition of second language casual speech phonology itself. I turn to this latter aspect of SLA now.

3. PHONOSTYLISTICS

The term *style* is used in sociolinguistics to refer to "the variation that occurs in the speech of a single speaker in different situational contexts" (Cheshire 1992: 324). The variants come from a single language or dialect, "though it is recognized that the same social and psychological principles govern switching of language, of dialect, and of style" (Cheshire 1992: 324). Situational contexts are typically described in terms of relative *formality*. The factors triggering stylistic variation have been identified as *topic*, *setting* and *relationship between interlocutors* (Hymes 1974). Some languages have discrete styles, i.e. they impose co-occurrence restrictions on forms within a given style. The most influential approach to stylistic variation was that of Labov (1972), who analysed formality as a linear continuum from very casual speech to very careful speech according to the degree of attention given to speech by speakers. In his newest paper, however, Labov (in Eckert and Rickford eds. 2001) states that he did not intend this continuum to describe how style-shifting is produced and organized in every-day speech but rather to describe the intra-speaker variation in the sociolinguistic interview. Discussion in the contributions to Eckert and Rickford (eds. 2001) volume shows no unanimous approach to the study of stylistic variation. There are at least three major aspects of the study: quantitative, qualitative and functional. I believe that they should be unified for the benefit of comprehensiveness. My definition of phonostylistics does not aspire to be sociolinguistically comprehensive.

3.1 What is *phonostylistics*?

The term *phonostylistics* stands for the phonological processes conditioned by style, i.e. style-sensitive or style-dependent ones. A scale of styles may be set up in a variety of ways, still it is generally encompassed within the extremes of *emphatic* vs. *informal*, with *formal* in between. Emphatic style is well-exemplified by motherese and citation forms, informal styles include casual, colloquial, intimate, while a speech, a lecture, or a job interview are examples of a formal style. For the purposes of clarity, I will refer to a simplified binary distinction between *formal* vs. *informal* only.

As far as the informal style is concerned, there exists the whole array of terms in the literature used to refer to approximately the same type of speech: *fast*, *rapid*, *allegro*, *casual*, *connected*, *informal*, *real*, *spontaneous*, or *conversational*. With respect to the primary style-differentiating criteria, the term *casual* seems to be the most adequate or, indeed, the least narrow or vague. The criteria are: tempo of speech and attention paid to speech. The criteria take on different values depending on the situation in which a speech act takes place (topic, aim, relation to the interlocutor, place of a conversation) and on the individual features of the speaker. Most commonly, exactly those situations do arise which trigger casual speech, i.e. in other words, most often we speak casually. The relationship between the two criteria is inversely proportional: the higher the degree of attention the slower the tempo.

The main types of phonostylistic processes are:

- assimilations, e.g. of stops and nasals, as in: *that pen*, *good mother*, *could get*, *ten men*; palatalization and coalescence, e.g. in: *did you*, *hit you*, *don't you*, *as yet*
- reductions, e.g. cluster reductions and degeminations, as in: *a test drive*, *I asked him*; smoothing, as in: *hour*, *lawyer*
- hiatus avoidance, e.g. in: *law and order*; *situation*
- assimilation + reduction, e.g. in: *I can't go*, *don't be silly*

- reduction and elision of vowels conditioned by rhythm in iso-accentual, stress-timed languages, e.g. *perhaps*
- consonant epenthesis, e.g. in: *prin[t]ce*, *min[t]ce*.

I propose a graphic way to represent stylistic variation (Dziubalska-Kolaczyk 1990: 20; see Figure 1 below). Underlying intention is a term compatible with the mentalistic, psychological theory of the phoneme (cf. such notions as *Lautabsicht*, *sound image*, *intention*, in the works of Baudouin de Courtenay, Sapir, Stampe).

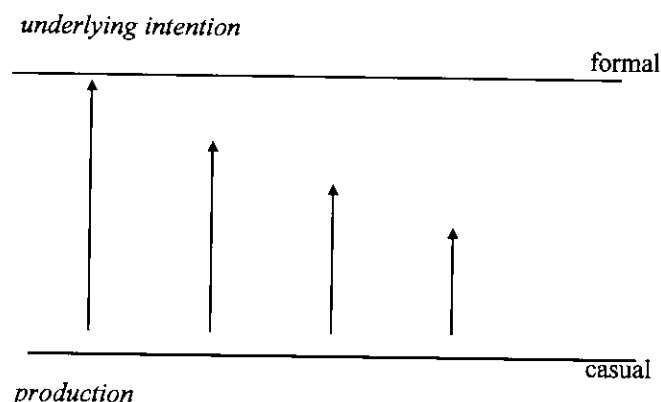


Figure 1.

For instance: underlying intention *happen* / $\eta\Theta\pi\leftrightarrow v$ /, realization in production [$\eta\Theta\pi\mu$]. Further illustrations of phonostylistic processes are quoted below:

(1)

$\eta\iota\sigma\epsilon\delta\iota\omega Y N \gamma \leftrightarrow Y$	<i>he said he wouldn't go</i>
$\phi \leftrightarrow \Sigma \leftrightarrow \rho \leftrightarrow \beta \alpha Y v \leftrightarrow \kappa \sigma \tau \alpha I \mu$	<i>you sure about next time?</i>
$v \omega \iota \delta \iota v \sigma \iota \iota \mu \leftrightarrow \gamma \epsilon v$	<i>and we didn't see him again</i>
$\beta \leftrightarrow \pi \rho \Theta \pi \Sigma \leftrightarrow \kappa \leftrightarrow \gamma \iota \mu \iota \omega \wp v$	<i>but perhaps you could give me one</i>

(Sobkowiak 1996: 238)

(2)

And also by using a low impedance you can use two conductors shielded.

Conversational style:

and $\Theta v \delta > \Theta v > \leftrightarrow v$

also $\lambda > Y$

using $N > v$

impedance $\leftrightarrow v > v$, $\sigma + \phi > \Sigma$

you $v : > \leftrightarrow > \emptyset$

can $\kappa \Theta v > \kappa v > \kappa N$

shielded $\lambda > Y$, $\zeta + \Sigma > \Sigma$

TOTAL: 13 PROCESSES

Reading:

and $\Theta v \delta > \Theta v$

a ϵI (hypercorrection)

can $\kappa \Theta v > \kappa \leftrightarrow v$

conductors $\zeta + \Sigma > \Sigma$

shielded $\lambda > Y$

TOTAL: 7 PROCESSES

(Shockey 1973: 83)

3.2 Phonostylistics in a Second Language

3.2.1 Difficulties

According to the popular view, phonostylistic processes are automatic, phonetically conditioned, serve ease of articulation, and as such they arise automatically at a given stage of second language competence. There is a number of problems connected with this view, however. Firstly, phonostylistic processes are language-specific. The same function is served by various means across languages, but also within a language. Languages decide for some out of many ways to overcome articulatory difficulty, which is demonstrated by language-specific speaker-friendly casual speech processes. For instance, a coronal stop or fricative palatalises easily and even coalesces with the following palatal glide within words and across word boundaries in English (cf. *would you, as you, immediately*, etc.) whereas in Polish this never happens (*kot ja* does not become *kocią*). Thus, the choice of a process serving ease of articulation in L2 cannot be random (and thus cannot be automatic). This means that even if the learner is successful in targeting second language underlying intentions (e.g., with the help of the methods outlined above, working against "repair"), still the second language casual speech processes will not necessarily be triggered, since there is more than one "natural pronunciation" (phonetically motivated one) resulting from those intentions.

Secondly, the problem with the acquisition of phonostylistics of a second language is that the level of attention in a SL does not drop low enough to trigger a natural application of those processes. Even in a natural setting of SLA, certain forms get fossilized before they get the chance to be productively derived. Once such fossilization happens, the subsequent drop in attention due to the natural setting conditions does not bring the expected application of the casual speech processes.

L1 interference is stronger in casual speech (if a learner manages to reach casual speech level) due to the lack of or difficulty in control over articulation. A vicious circle arises: we want the learners to reach casual style (correlated with low level of attention), but at the same time we want them to apply L2 processes and not succumb to L1 interference (caused by low level of attention).

Additionally, phonostylistic processes are the most difficult to decode from the non-native language input (cf. Figure 1 above). A frequent result of this difficulty is learning lexicalized versions of utterances with processes already present in them without the learners realizing this, e.g. L2 English *Would you like...*, with palatalization and yod-coalescence already applied.

The primary reason, thus, for teaching phonostylistic processes is to enhance this decoding ability, i.e. to facilitate perception and enable the learner to establish an underlying representation. In this way, teaching phonostylistics creates a bridge towards learning phonology of a second language in general.

3.2.2 Experiments

In a series of experiments, since 1984, (Dziubalska-Kołodziej 1984, 1985, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, see Dziubalska-Kołodziej 1990) I investigated the role of formal vs. natural setting in SLA. The experiments showed that natural setting learners (there were 21 subjects) did not differentiate among styles and used rote-learned, lexicalized versions of casual speech forms with no evidence for a productive application of casual speech processes. For instance, they produced assimilated form in *Tell me what you want*, but not in *Has your letter come, What's your weight?, Don't miss your train*. Formal setting learners (20 subjects), on the other hand, demonstrated some productivity in the application of phonostylistic processes in their English, which pointed to the effectiveness of formal instruction, training and exercise.

Zborowska (1997) obtained statistically significant progress in perception and production of basic casual speech processes of English in Polish learners due to the regular explicit training in phonostylistics (she compared an experimental group with a control one whose members received a traditional instruction).

Blanco, Carrillo & Gayoso (1999) showed that phono-metaphonological training raised substantially the metaphonological awareness of Spanish school children learning English, which proved very helpful to the children in all production skills, i.e. reading, writing and pronunciation.

Dziubalska-Kolaczyk, Weckwerth and Zborowska (1999) reported that students of English found the metalinguistic knowledge they acquired in a descriptive grammar course very useful in learning practical skills, i.e. in perfecting their performance. For instance, out of 62 students, 40 acknowledged metacompetence as background for performance (cf. the quote from one of the subjects: "theoretical knowledge helps to create a mental image of how sounds are produced"), 10 confirmed that metacompetence helped them in acquiring connected speech phenomena.

Linda Shockey (1997) conducted a perception experiment of gated reduced speech by native and non-native speakers of English and showed that while native listeners unravelled the reductions to arrive at the correct input, non-native listeners practically did not. The experimental sentence was: *The scree[m]play di[n] resemble the book at all*. She concluded that exposure to a range of inputs which are phonetically different but phonologically the same (cf. Figure 1 again) will aid comprehension of naturally-varying native speech. I would reinforce her conclusion and add explicit training to pure exposure.

Summing up, if we take into consideration both the idea of working against "repair" by the learner and the above discussed "metacompetence" issue, we may propose a basic two-way phonostylistic distinction relevant to the learner:

- near-intentional speech = is a formal style (listener-oriented), for which the naturalness principle defines the obligatory minimum of processes (basically, language-specific allophonic processes); the learner uses L1 intentions and processes as well as "repair" at the beginning of acquisition; s/he needs to ultimately learn to hear SL intentions and to apply SL processes to derive SL productions
- average speech = is a casual style (speaker-oriented); this is a style which we use most often in everyday life; it is correlated with a low level of attention paid to the way of speaking; the learner hears the strings either as above (here "repair" may be successful if L1 and L2 happen to have the same casual speech process, e.g. nasal assimilation) or at their "face value" (since what s/he hears does not match any familiar intention either in L1 or in L2, e.g. palatalization and coalescence); it's harder to learn to hear the intention here, since it's further removed from production

4. "COMPETENCES" IN THE LEARNER'S MIND

A methodological remedy against the difficulties mentioned above and analogous difficulties in other areas of second language grammar is to raise language awareness of the learners, i.e. to make them aware of the "competences" they already possess. Phonostylistics is a particularly good starting point since casual speech is the most common and the most natural register speakers use, cf. average speech. It is exactly via second language casual speech processes that a learner should come to "reconstruct" the second language system, and this with the help of explicit formal instruction. If the instruction concerns formal speech only, the learner will hardly succeed with unravelling the real language input.

4.1 L1

Language awareness can be raised through the mediation of the first language (L1) whose positive role in SLA should be emphasized. For instance, realizing the existence of phonostylistics in the mother tongue activates self-organizing capacities of the language system.

Thus, in the case of teaching English to native speakers of a given language, the learners' L1 should constitute an important fundament of the teaching procedure. L1 corpora and descriptions as well as contrastive L1-L2 analyses are a prerequisite for the preparation of appropriate materials.

4.2 Dialects and other L2's

It is easier to raise the linguistic awareness of those learners who already possess the ability of code switching, either inter-dialectal or inter-lingual, by drawing their attention to this ability. Code switching could perpetuate to yet another code - an L2 in question, especially if the new code is typologically cognate. The importance of the learner's local dialect as a determinant of learning characteristics has been pointed out, for instance, by James and Kettemann (1983: 9). Students should be taught how to use their dialectal base in the learning of a second language. Code switching between dialect and standard should be used to their advantage rather than disturb the acquisition process. Here for instance one may think of an advantage speakers of Hawaiian Creole English have due to their ability of code-switching between American English and HCE.

Similarly, prior knowledge of other languages should be taken advantage of. Thus, the most suitable native language and prior language(s) input should be selected to serve as basis for deriving second language forms.³ Again, speakers of HCE would have an advantage for instance in learning Japanese (e.g. due to the tendency to open syllable structure in HCE, among others; cf. Odo 1977). In general, multilingualism of Hawai'i creates very favourable circumstances for language learning.

4.3 Socio-pragmatics of L2

Above sections emphasized the teaching about L2 by means of reference to L1 as well as to other languages and dialects known by the learners. Another important aspect of teaching about L2 (raising the awareness of L2) is not to isolate grammar from its actual context. Especially when teaching in the formal setting, grammatical processes should not be taught "raw", but should always be placed in their respective socio-pragmatic framework of usage.

5. CONCLUSION

In this paper I have claimed that speech is in the ear of the listener. Only if we properly understand mental activities of the learner confronted with SL input can we help him/her in successful acquisition of a SL. We need to understand and aid perception in order to trigger desired production.

What is a successful acquisition of a second language, however? Does the learner, for instance, lose his/her foreign accent when s/he stops to use the "engineered" intentions and starts to perceive the expected L2 ones instead? Is this a necessary prerequisite to acquire second language phonology? As a final note, let us try to specify what can actually be meant by the term *native speaker of a language*.

A native speaker (NS) is a person who uses a given language without hesitation: s/he possesses one stable form of pronunciation (would vary styles, or even dialects, but in each of them would always hit the target) and never ponders about quality of a sound (no self-reflection, or self-correction). S/he also never ponders about how to react in a given situation: acts spontaneously by means of a spoken language, doesn't look for words or phrases or idioms in a casual interaction. Pronunciation is thus only part of the characteristics of a native speaker.

A native speaker does not necessarily speak a version of a language identifiable as a standard or a generally identified dialect: the fact that s/he uses his/her language in the above described manner makes her/him a native speaker, and thus his/her language a version of the language in question (be it a creole, pidgin or dialect/accents); this means that a native speaker's speech may even be accented by a foreign tongue.

Thus, to be a native speaker one needs to immerse in the target language environment in childhood, when one may become a native speaker of a number of languages as long as there is enough exposure to them from the start (including parents, caretakers); however, the exposure should be balanced and evenly distributed over all spheres of life (this is possible e.g. in countries with multiple official languages). Consequently, it is hardly possible to become a native speaker in the full sense of the term by means of a formal training, or even immersion later in life (since all learners are already native speakers of their respective tongues). It is possible, however, to achieve native-like pronunciation by means of a formal training.

In this paper I have made some suggestions concerning the usefulness of phonological knowledge in the acquisition of second language pronunciation.

NOTES

1. "Stylistics has played an important part in the re-insertion of literature into the second language (L2) curriculum." (Carter 1992: 80)
2. Polish children would also insert a vowel or delete one of the Cs in *ptak* before they accept the cluster.
3. Speakers of polycentristic languages (like German or English) are predicted to be more sensitive to variation in general, and this factor should be used to the benefit of the learners as well.

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ENGLISH WORDS IN ROMANIAN: PHONOLOGICAL ADAPTATION

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ABSTRACT

The majority of sound changes found in the English words borrowed into Romanian involve vowels. The English vowels are to be adjusted to fit the seven cardinal vowels of Romanian. Although Romanian has about thirty diphthongs and triphthongs altogether, the English diphthongs are not borrowed as diphthongs in Romanian because they are included in closed syllables, contrary to the patterns of the borrowing language. The English consonants that do not occur in Romanian are replaced by the most similar ones, usually keeping the feature plus/minus voice, e.g. the interdental voiceless fricative in English corresponds to /t/ or /s/ in Romanian, depending on the speaker.

The stress pattern differences between these two languages are also manifested in the process of adaptation. The primary stress in the English words that appears on the initial syllable migrates to the penultimate or ultimate syllable in Romanian. Finally, the borrowed English words have brought a new sequence of sounds in Romanian. The final syllable, /-l'r/ now appears in nouns denoting certain occupations

1. INTRODUCTION

The current supremacy of English as an international language has a great influence on the Romanian lexicon nowadays. The English words in Romanian could be divided into three categories. The oldest category includes English borrowed words most of which are fully adapted. The second category is an intermediate stage with both adapted and semi-adapted words. The last one is a current explosion of English words that flow into the Romanian speech, even everyday speech, in the sense that lots of English words, in their more or less original form, are intermingled in speakers' utterances.

Borrowing brings new words, new sequences of sounds, new sounds sometimes, "but in many cases foreign sounds are changed to conform to the native phonological system" (Ohso, 1973, p.1).

What is English about to contribute to the Romanian language change?

The object of this paper is to analyze, to some extent, the manner in which English words enter the Romanian lexicon, phonologically speaking, to seek patterns of behavior and adaptation of these words in order to become Romanian. For this purpose, I have gathered about 600 words of English etymology. I extracted most of them from Marcu and Măneacă's *Dictionar de Neologisme* (1986) to which I added a number of words, where I knew about their use by Romanian speakers. Indeed, I was not aware of the existence of a small number of English provenance words in domains like sport or engineering, but the dictionary helped me complete the data faster. I made small groups of words having a common pattern of pronunciation of a certain sound. Finally, I tried to find some explanation regarding these changes. The transcription used in this paper is in accordance to Marcu and Măneacă's guidance of pronunciation and to my personal experience and observations.

Before starting the actual analysis of the data, some information on the Romanian sound system would be necessary, sometimes in contrast with English, although this examination is far from being a complete phonetic/phonological contrastive analysis.

2. ROMANIAN SOUND SYSTEM

Romanian is a Romance language and like some languages of this family, especially Italian, the spelling system reflects the sounds, denoting one to one letter sound correspondences with very few exceptions. An inventory of the Romanian consonants is displayed in Table 1. Some specifications should be added: The aspirated p, t, k or any aspiration does not occur in Romanian; Romanian has just one allophone. The velar nasal [ŋ] is an allophone of /n/, occurring before the velar stops /g, k/, e.g. *banc* 'anecdote', *rang* 'rank' Romanian lacks the following consonants that are available in English: the voiceless and voiced dental fricatives /θ, ð/; the glottal stop /ʔ/ and the flap [ɾ]

The postalveolar affricate /ts/ is a phoneme in Romanian;
 The lateral (alveolar) liquid /l/ is always light, whereas English also has the velar allophone;
 The liquid /r/ is a trill in Romanian.

Table 1. Romanian consonants: place and manner of articulation

Manner of articulation	Labial	Labio dental	Interden- tal	Alveolar	(Alveo) palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop -voice +voice	p b			t d		k g	
Nasal +voice	m			n		ŋ	
Fricative -voice +voice		f v		s z	ʃ ʒ		h
Affricate -voice +voice				ts postalveolar	tʃ, dʒ		
Liquid Lateral +voi -retro+voice				l r			
Glide					j	w	

Table 2. Romanian vowels

		i	e	a	ɨ	ʌ	o	u
Syllabic	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
High		+	-	-	-	+	-	+
Back		-	-	+	+	+	+	+
Low		-	-	+	-	-	-	-
Round		-	-	-	-	-	+	+

Romanian exhibits seven plain vowels as seen in Table 2. /a, e, i, o, u, ɨ, ʌ/, which are supplemented by 31 diphthongs and triphthongs. (Annex 1) In order to adapt the richer and more complex English vowel system, the English borrowed words are to undergo a number of vowel changes.

Table 3. Phonotactics: English on the left, Romanian on the right

VC up an in	un an in	CV my hoe so	cu nu si	CCV pry grow free	trei gri plai	CCCV screw spray stray	strai
VCC old and	Olt act	VCCC olds ants	istm	CVCCC tests tenths	turts	CVCCCC thirsts texts	

ink	ins	amps		lunged		worlds	
CVC bed set cap	dop cap loc	CCVC bred dread stone	cred dres crud	CVCC bald sand hunt	cald rabd cult	CCVCC brand trains swings	stand drops
CCCVC strut squat sprain	strop scrin	CCCVCC struts squats sprained	struts strict strîmt	CCVCCC slurps prints flirts	prints	CCCVCCC scrimps sprints squelched	

The minimal syllable structure in both languages is V: in English I, in Romanian e 'is' and o 'a'. Maximal syllable structure in English is CCCVCCCC in *strengths*. In Romanian is CCCVCC in *prints* 'prince'. Although the optimal CV is highly encountered in Romanian, the English consonant clusters should not be a problem in the process of adaptation because numerous and rich clusters also occur in Romanian. (See Annex 2)
An important difference between these two languages lies in prosody: English is time stressed, Romanian is syllable stressed; English is trochaic, Romanian is iambic.

3. PREDICTIONS

In the adaptation of English words in Romanian, orthography will play an important role. Romanian speakers have the tendency to produce each letter in foreign words as they do in Romanian because, as already mentioned, every letter in Romanian words corresponds to one sound (with a few exceptions), which has to be audible. From this point of view, although the new English words that enter Romanian currently come by the avenue of American culture, the British English pronunciation is preferred. For instance, British English does not employ a flap (not existing in Romanian) for intervocalic /t/, so Romanians prefer /t/.

It is expected that the English sounds that are not shared by Romanian will change to conform to the borrower's phonological system. Let us not forget that the situation of borrowing is different from second language learning in which the learner has to adjust his pronunciation to the target language. In the case of borrowing, the foreign words are to be adjusted and assimilated.

Change of stress position is also expected to occur from the first syllable in English to the penultimate and ultimate syllable in Romanian.

Adoption of a new sound is not expected, although it may happen in the future. If so, it will presumably be a consonant.

4. FROM ENGLISH TO ROMANIAN. Let's see what the data say. Some words will be used in more than one group.

4.1 Eye Borrowing or Orthographically Adapted Words

English		Romanian	
spelling	transcription	spelling	transcription
sport	[spɔrt]	sport	[sport]
lift	[lɪft]	lift	[lift]
picnic	[ˈpɪknɪk]	picnic	[ˈpɪknɪk]
dock	[dɒk]	doc	[dok]

club	[kɫvɓ]	club	[klub]
tennis	[ːtEnɪs]	tenis	[ːtenis]
puck	[pʋk]	puc	[puk]
cockpit	[ːkAkɪt]	cockpit	[ːkokpit]

These fully adapted words follow the Romanian rule of pronunciation: one to one letter sound correspondence. Their sound sequence matches the Romanian patterns. The stress remains in place. The English spelling is not always adapted, so there is some recognition of the English spelling conventions.

4.2 Eye Borrowing with Change of Stress - adapted

detergent	[diːtˈrdZEnt]	detergent	[deterːdZent]
dollar	[ːdAlˈr]	dolar	[doːlar]
manager	[ːmQnɪdZˈr]	manager	[manaːdZer]
docker	[ːdAkˈr]	docher	[doːker]

4.3 From *Q* to *a*

gang	[gQN]	gang	[gaNg]
gangster	[ːgQNstˈr]	gangster	[ːgaNgster]
fast-food	[ːfQstfud]	fast food	[ːfastfud]
tramway	[ːtrQmwej]	tramvai	[tramːvaj]
ham	[hQm]	ham	[ham]
manager	[ːmQnɪdZˈr]	manager	[manaːdZer]

4.4 From *Q* to *e*

snack	[snQk]	snack	[snek]
back	[bQk]	back	[bek]
gambling	[ːgQmbliN]	gambling	[ːgambliNg]
laptop	[ːlQptAp]	laptop	[ːleptop]
catch	[kQtS]	catch/chechi	[ketS]
camping	[ːkQmpiN]	camping	[ːkempiNg]
challenger	[ːtSQɪˈndZˈr]	challenger	[tSeːlendZer]

Q before a nasal generally becomes /e/, or /a/.

The case of *Q* in English words that cannot transform into the Romanian diphthong *ea* is quite intriguing. The diphthong *ea* usually occurs in stressed open syllables in Romanian. Perhaps the word gets rid of *Q* in *manager* in order to move the stress to the right, a more natural position for stress in Romanian. It seems to be quite difficult to keep the stress on the initial syllable in words with more than two syllables. An important observation is that virtually all diphthong and triphthongs in Romanian occur in open syllable. The conclusion here is that the English *Q* becomes /e/ or /a/ both in closed syllables and open syllables in order to comply with the Romanian patterns of diphthong included in open syllables and with the pattern of stress. Another observation is that the existing Romanian words cannot match both the initial and the final consonant of the English syllables with *Q*.

4.5 From /ei/ to /e/

game	[geim]	ghem	[gem]
game average	[geim:QvridZ]	game average	[gemave:raZ]
grape-fruit	[:greipfrut]	grapefruit	[:grepfrut]
beefsteak	[:bifteik]	biftec	[:biftek]

Indeed, the English diphthongs are not preserved in Romanian because they are included in closed syllables, contrary to the borrower's patterns.

4.6 From √ to u

club	[kl√b]	club	[klub]
trust	[tr√st]	trust	[trust]

Actually, 4.6 can be explained orthographically. Both words *club* and *trust* were borrowed long time ago and the fashion of adapting loan words in the past was in agreement with the spelling. The word *truck* borrowed more recently is *truck* [tr√k] in Romanian. It matches the English spelling and pronunciation.

4.7 From A to o

drops	[drAps]	drops	[drops]
top	[tAp]	top	[top]
mop	[mAp]	mop	[mop]

4.7 could be explained by the usage of the British way of pronunciation. In British English, the vowel in *drops*, *mop*, and *top* is [ɔ]. The case may simply be the interference of orthography.

4.8 From flap to /t/

scooter	[:skuR'r]	scuter	[:skuter]
computer	[k'm:pjuR'r]	computer	[kom:pjuter/'r]

The alveolar stop [t] displaced the flap, preserving the place of articulation. The lack of the flap in Romanian or the preference for the British pronunciation may stand for this phenomenon, or, as usual, the spelling.

4.9 From *th* to /t/

thriller	[ˈTrilˈr]	thriller	[ˈtrilˈr]
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/T/ was supplanted by the stop /t/ that is realized in the immediate proximity, dental – alveolar –voice feature is preserved. Unfortunately, I did not find more words having /T/, except that I heard a doctor talking about a *pull-thru* surgery procedure. In his pronunciation, the dental fricative was replaced by another, alveolar fricative /s/. Again the feature –voice survived. I believe that /s/ and /t/ can replace the English dental fricative alternatively. Because of lack of data I cannot conclude satisfactorily which one may occur in which environment. The number of English words containing /T/ is very limited in Romanian.

4.10 from /-r/ to -er/ ending

docker	[ˈdAkˈr]	docher	[ˈdoːkər]
leader	[ˈliːdˈr]	lider/leader	[ˈliːdər]
scooter	[ˈskuRˈr]	scuter	[ˈskuter]
bulldozer	[ˈbUldouzˈr]	buldozer	[ˈbulːdozer]
gangster	[ˈgQŋstˈr]	gangster	[ˈgɑŋstər]

Perhaps the stress changed in docher [ˈdoːkər] (4.10) because most of the Romanian words denominating occupations employ the main stress on the last syllable. Why the stress changed in bulldozer? Because a dactyl of one stressed syllable followed by two unstressed syllables is not permitted in Romanian.

4.11 or to -r

broker	[ˈbroukˈr]	brocker	[ˈbrɔkˈr]
poker	[ˈpoukˈr]	pocâr/pocker	[ˈpokˈr]
cocker	[ˈkAkˈr]	cocker	[ˈkokˈr]
dealer	[ˈdilˈr]	dealer	[ˈdilˈr]
trawler	[ˈtrAlˈr]	traulăr	[ˈtrawlˈr]
trailer	[ˈtreilˈr]	trailăr	[ˈtrailˈr]
feeder	[ˈfidˈr]	feeder	[ˈfidˈr]
blazer	[ˈbleizˈr]	blazer	[ˈbleizˈr]

/-er/ ending syllables exist in Romanian, in words denominating occupations, but it is quite rare and appears after labials (mˈr, pˈr, tSiubˈr, vˈr, ienupˈr). The configuration /-kˈr/ is very limited and comes from other language borrowing, perhaps German, e.g. *buncar* /bunkˈr/.

Notice that in 4.11 some diphthongs are retained in open syllables. Only /ou/ was replaced by its first vowel in *poker* and *bulldozer* despite its occurrence in open syllables in English. /ou/ occurs in Romanian in open syllables. E.g. *ou* 'egg', *bou* 'ox', *ecou* 'echo'. I can't find this diphthong in the first syllable of a two-syllable word in Romanian. It seems that /ou/ occurs only in monosyllabic words, or in final position in multisyllabic

words. The diphthong /ei/ in *trailer* (4.11) and *tramway* (4.3) becomes /ai/ but it remains /ei/ in *blazer* (4.11). The difference is accounted for as the old versus new manner of adaptation. Regarding /-l'r/, in items like *dealer*, *trawler*, *trailer* in 4.11, it seems to cause a new sound sequence, a new ending syllable in Romanian. I did not find any Romanian word ending in /-l'r/, except those borrowed from English.

4.12 Syncope

pullover	[ːpulov'r]	pullover/plovăr	[ːplov'r]
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As I observed, the Romanians who can speak English and sometimes follow the original (more or less) pronunciation, end up making use of lenition in the case of *pullover*.

5. INVENTORY OF CHANGES

ei --> ei in open syllables ; e - in closed syllables

I, i --> i

E --> e -

Q --> e, A, generally before a nasal

ou --> o

U, u --> u

√ --> u, A

A --> o

T --> t (possible s)

R --> t

-l'r – a new syllable with this sequence is acquired

English diphthongs in closed syllable do not reach Romanian as diphthongs.

6. CONCLUSIONS

The majority of sound changes from English to Romanian involve vowels. The English vowels that do not occur in Romanian are difficult to perceive for Romanian speakers. It follows that many of the English vowels are reduced to the Romanian plain vowels. Also, the English diphthongs are slimmed to one of its components if they occur in closed syllable because the Romanian diphthongs and triphthongs occur mostly in open syllables.

In borrowed words longer than three syllables, the stress on the first syllable migrates to the right to match the Romanian pattern.

With the increasing importance of English in many domains of activity in Romanian, especially in education, business, diplomacy, etc the attitude towards the adaptation of English words has changed significantly in regard to pronunciation and spelling. The latest borrowed words from English are preserved in their authentic orthographical configuration.

While the adoption of a new vowel remains unrealistic, Romanian has already acquired a new syllable sequence from English: /-l'r/. It is now an ending syllable that occurs in occupation denominating nouns and some vehicles and machinery.

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PERCEPTION OF STOP-NASAL SEQUENCES IN ENGLISH BY KOREAN LEARNERS OF ENGLISH

In Kyu Park, Department of Linguistics

ABSTRACT

This study investigates how Korean learners of English perceive stop-nasal sequences in English words like *Batman* or *eggnog*. Voiced stop-nasal sequences in English are possible at the phonetic level and voiceless stop-nasal sequences in English are possible with an inserted glottal stop at the phonetic level. Those sequences in Korean are possible at the phonemic level, but they are not possible at the phonetic level because of a phonological constraint (avoidance of rising sonority over a syllable boundary) in Korean. This research was designed to provide answers to the following questions: (a) How do native Korean listeners perceive a stop before a nasal in English? (b) Do they perceive stop-nasal sequences as nasal-nasal? (c) Do they perceive an epenthetic vowel in these sequences? (d) What factors play a role in the two cases? The results show that Korean listeners' perception is different from English listeners' perception. Overall, Korean listeners significantly show perception of an epenthetic vowel, which is affected primarily by the release and/or voicing of stops. Their perception is affected by the phonological patterning of Korean in which the release of stops and voiced stops occur only in the syllable-initial position.

1. INTRODUCTION

Much research on perception has been concerned with establishing the influence of speech perception on phonological patterning (Beddor et al. 2001) and the influence of phonological patterning on speech perception (Hume et al. 1999), as well as their mutual influence (Hume 2001). This study is to investigate how Korean learners of English perceive stop-nasal sequences in English words like *Batman* or *eggnog*. Voiced stop-nasal sequences in English are possible at the phonetic level and voiceless stop-nasal sequences in English are possible with an inserted glottal stop at the phonetic level. Those sequences in Korean are possible at the phonemic level, but they are not possible at the phonetic level because of a phonological constraint in Korean, thus realized as nasal-nasal sequences. In second language phonology, in addition, another possible strategy for avoiding stop-nasal sequences would be that an epenthetic vowel might occur between a stop and a nasal, as illustrated in *Batman*. The specific research questions addressed here are as follows: in their perception of English words like *Batman* or *eggnog*, do Korean speakers hear stop nasalization or do they perceive an epenthetic vowel? If they perceive differently than native speakers of English, what factors might explain the different distribution of perception? My hypothesis in this study is that phonology has an influence on speech perception, more specifically, phonological systems in the first language affect perception in the second language.

In the following section, I will briefly describe stop-nasal sequences in English and Korean and, in sections 3, 4, and 5, my experiment, results/discussion, and conclusion, respectively.

2. STOP-NASAL SEQUENCES IN ENGLISH AND KOREAN

In (American) English, glottalization (sometimes called 'glottal reinforcement') occurs in syllable-final voiceless stops or voiceless stop-nasal sequences, whereas it does not occur in syllable-final voiced stops or voiced stop-nasal sequences (Giegerich 1992). The bilabial, alveolar or velar closure is usually preceded by glottal closure, so that a glottal stop is coarticulated with the supralaryngeal stop, which is illustrated in the following examples:

(1) a. syllable-final voiceless stops

cup	[k ^h ∅ /p]
beat	[bi/t]
buck	[b ∅ /k]

c. voiceless stop-nasal¹

topmost	[ta/pmou9st]
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b. syllable-final voiced stops

cub	[k ^h ∅ b]
bead	[bid]
bug	[b ∅ g]

d. voiced stop-nasal

submit	[s<->bmIt]
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Batman
quickness

[bΘ/tmΘn]
[kwI/knEs]

admiral
ignore

[Θdm↔r↔l]
[Ign r]

In Korean, stop-nasal sequences are not allowed at the phonetic level. Thus, stop nasalization occurs in the case of stop-nasal sequences, which are illustrated in (2) (Kim-Renaud 1974, Ahn 1998).

- (2) /ip+mat/ [immat] 'appetite'
 /nat^h+mal/ [nanmal] 'a word'
 /↔k+nul\ta/ [↔Nnur\da] 'suppress'

In Korean, syllable-final obstruents are not released and if there occur voiced stops² in the phonetic level as allophones of plain stops, they must be in the syllable-initial position, as illustrated in the following examples:

- (3) a. Unreleased syllable-final obstruents
 /t↔p^h+kE/ [t↔p|.k'E] 'a cover'
 /nop^h+ta/ [nop|.t'a] 'be high'
 /s↔k'+ta/ [s↔k|.t'a] 'mix'
 b. Released syllable-initial obstruents
 /ip^hali/ [i.p^haPi] 'leaf'
 /caN+p^han/ [caN.p^han] 'laminated paper'
 /tEk'u+hata/ [tE.k'uhada] 'reply'
 c. Syllable-initial voiced stops
 /ky↔npon/ [ky↔n.bon] 'sample'
 /mul+ta/ [mul.da] 'bite'
 /sakwa/ [sa.gwa] 'apple'

3. EXPERIMENT

3.1 Listeners

The listeners who participated in this experimental study were two native speakers of American English and eight Korean learners of English. They are all graduate students at the University of Hawai'i at Ma#noa. The general background of the participants is summarized in Table (1). Native English listeners, JJ and LS, have a California accent and a Minnesota accent, respectively. The distinction between advanced and non-advanced learners of English is based on years of stay in English-speaking countries, and confirmed by a native English speaker's judgment of the Korean listeners reading a passage in English.

Table 1. Characteristics of participants in listening experiment.

Level	Subjects	Gender	Age	Years of stay in US
Native English listeners	JJ	M	20-30	20-30
	LS	F	20-30	20-30
Advanced learners of English	YL	M	Over 40	Over 4
	ML	F	30-40	Over 4
Non-advanced learners of English	SP	M	20-30	1-2
	HJ	F	20-30	1-2
	JC	F	20-30	1-2
	HK	F	20-30	1-2
	BS	F	20-30	Under 1
	SS	F	30-40	3-4

3.2 Stimuli

Nonsense words of two types (released³/unreleased) involving sequences of a stop and a nasal were recorded by two native English speakers, as shown in (3). One of them is a female native speaker from California, between 30 and 40 years of age, and the other is a male native speaker from Boston, between 30 and 40 years of age. Words were placed in the carrier sentence 'I said ____ today/yesterday.' Recordings were made

in a sound-attenuated recording studio at the University of Hawai'i at Ma#noa. Recorded sentences were transferred to a personal computer in the UH Phonetics Lab and edited with the carrier sentences excluded. Three repetitions of each nonsense word were made. The order of tokens was randomized. Thus, a total of 1440 tokens were collected and investigated (12 nonsense words x 2 speakers x 2 types (released/unreleased) x 3 repetitions x 10 listeners).

(4) [epma]	[epna]	[ebma]	[ebna]
[etma]	[etna]	[edma]	[edna]
[ekma]	[ekna]	[egma]	[egna]

3.3 Task

The task of the listeners was to choose the word they thought they heard from a list of seven words given by the experimenter. For instance, in response to the stimulus *epma*, a listener could choose one of the following: (a) *epma*, (b) *eppa*, (c) *emma*, (d) *epma*, (e) *epa*, (f) *ema*, and (g) *empa*. The choices (a) and (c) are based on the assumption that Korean listeners would perceive released/voiced stops as the ones accompanying a vowel and unreleased stops as nasals, respectively. The choices (b), (e), (f), and (g), acted as kind of distracters, are based on the possibility of perceiving a nasal as a stop, not perceiving a stop or nasal, and perceiving a stop-nasal sequence as a nasal-stop sequence, respectively. Each listener listened to 144 stimuli.

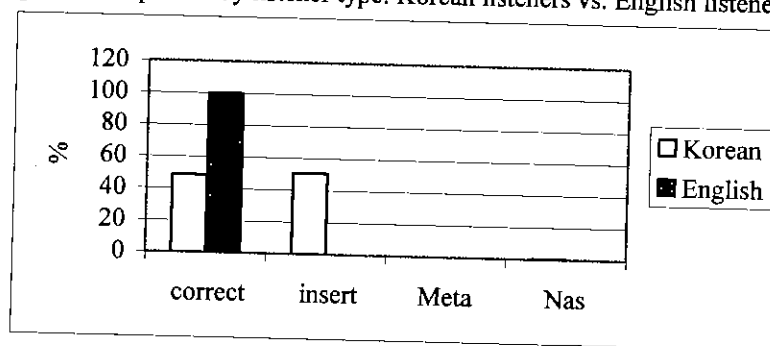
4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Table 2 shows the results of the correlation of factors to identification.

Table 2. Correlation results for identification (The factors marked with bold face were significant at $p < .05$).

Factors	df	Σ^2	P-value
Listener type	3	250.601	<.0001
<i>All Korean Learners</i>			
Level (Advanced/Non-advanced)	3	2.528	<.4703
Releasedness	3	270.246	<.0001
Place	15	23.431	<.0754
Voicing	3	22.126	<.0001
Releasedness * Voicing	9	294.426	<.0001
<i>Within Korean Advanced Learners</i>			
Releasedness	1	80.362	<.0001
Place	5	12.522	<.0283
Voicing	1	2.727	<.0987
Releasedness * Voicing	3	88.654	<.0001
<i>Within Korean Non-advanced Learners</i>			
Releasedness	3	190.912	<.0001
Place	15	18.353	<.2445
Voicing	3	19.907	<.0002
Releasedness * Voicing	9	212.907	<.0001

Figure (1) shows results for Korean and English listeners. It was found that listener type had a highly statistically significant effect on responses (df: 3, $\Sigma^2 = 250.601$, $p < .0001$). The percentage of English listeners' correct answers was 100%. They did not show any tendency to perceive stop-nasal sequences as nasal-nasal or stop-vowel-nasal sequences. Phonological systems have an influence on speech perception. According to Werker and Pegg (1992), speech perception in the first language consists of three stages in development: (a) language-general phonetic perception (0 – 10 months); (b) language-specific phonetic perception (10 – 19 months); and (c) phonemic perception (19 months +). Although it is hard to determine each stage exactly, adults are obviously in the stage of phonemic perception. In English, released stops and unreleased stops are allophones in free variation. Accordingly, adult English listeners perceive a stop to be a phoneme regardless of the presence or absence of releasedness, which is illustrated in this experiment, as shown in Figure (1).

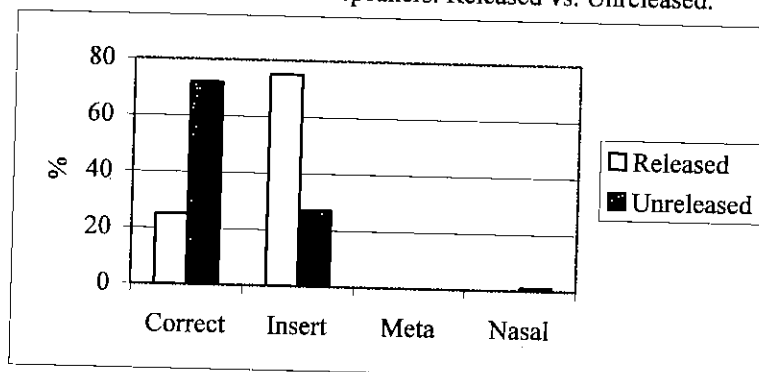
Figure 1. Responses by listener type: Korean listeners vs. English listeners.⁴

Korean listeners hardly ever perceived a stop before a nasal as a nasal (0.5%) and metathesis occurred only once. They perceived it as a stop and a stop followed by a vowel (49% and 51%, respectively), depending on releasedness and/or voicing of a stop. Their tendency to perceive an epenthetic vowel, depending on release and voicing of a stop, may be accounted for by the phonological patterning of Korean, in which the release of stops occurs only before vowels or glides and voiced stops take place only in syllable initial position.

Level (advanced and non-advanced learners) did not have a statistically significant effect on responses (df: 3, $\xi^2 = 2.528$, $p < .4703$), as shown in table (2).

Figure (2) shows the effect of released stops and unreleased stops on responses among all Korean listeners. The statistical result is very significant (df: 3, $\xi^2 = 270.246$, $p < .0001$).

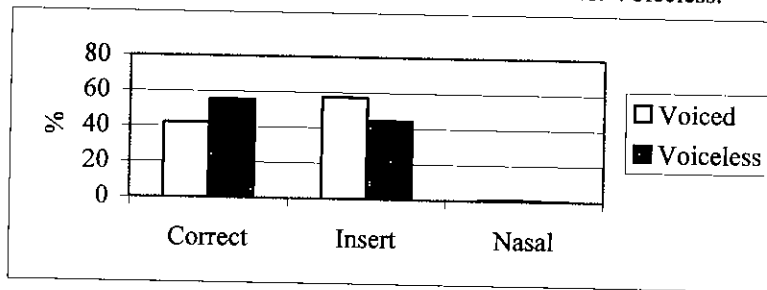
Figure 2. Native Korean speakers: Released vs. Unreleased.



In the case of released stops, Korean listeners showed a more frequent perception of an epenthetic vowel than in the case of unreleased stops. Korean does not allow stops to be released in syllable-final position or before a consonant. Thus, when a stop is released, it means that it is followed by a vowel phonologically. As for the perception of a stop as a nasal, it occurred only in the case of unreleased stops. This is motivated by the fact that unreleased stops are less salient than released stops⁵ and lenitive perception in which a stop is perceived as a nasal would take a less salient segment.

Figure (3) shows voiced stops and voiceless stops as factors among all Korean listeners. The result is significant (df: 3, $\xi^2 = 22.126$, $p < .0001$).

Figure 3. Native Korean listeners: Voiced vs. Voiceless.



In the case of voiced stops, Korean listeners showed a more frequent perception of an epenthetic vowel than in the case of voiceless stops, which is related to intervocalic voicing in Korean. The presence of a voiced stop means that it occurred in syllable-initial position and listeners perceived an epenthetic vowel. This shows the influence of phonology on perception.

Figure (4) shows the effect of releasedness and voicing as co-factors among all Korean listeners. The statistical result is very significant (df: 9, $\chi^2 = 294.426$, $p < .0001$). Voicing still plays a role in triggering the perception of an epenthetic vowel consistently in the case of unreleased stops as well as released stops.

Figure 4. Korean listeners: Released/unreleased stops and voiced/voiceless stops.

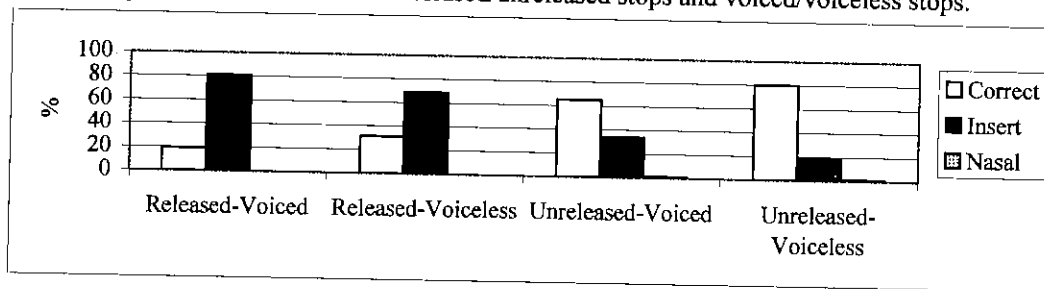
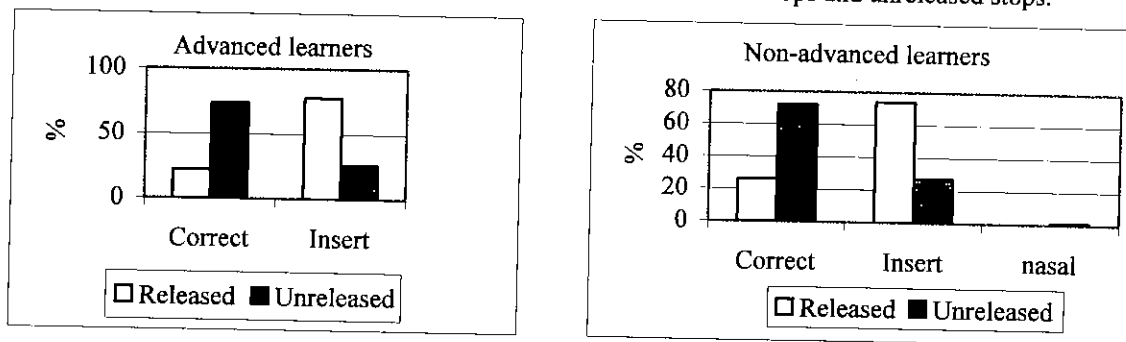


Figure (5) shows the effect of releasedness on responses within Korean advanced learners and Korean non-advanced learners, respectively. The results are very significant (df: 1, $\chi^2 = 80.362$, $p < .0001$; df: 3, $\chi^2 = 190.912$, $p < .0001$, respectively). In the cases of both advanced learners and non-advanced learners, the release of stops played an important role in the perception of an epenthetic vowel. Even advanced learners show the great effect of phonological patterning on perception. It gives evidence to the influence of phonological patterning on perception mentioned earlier.

Figure 5. Korean advanced/non-advanced learners: released stops and unreleased stops.

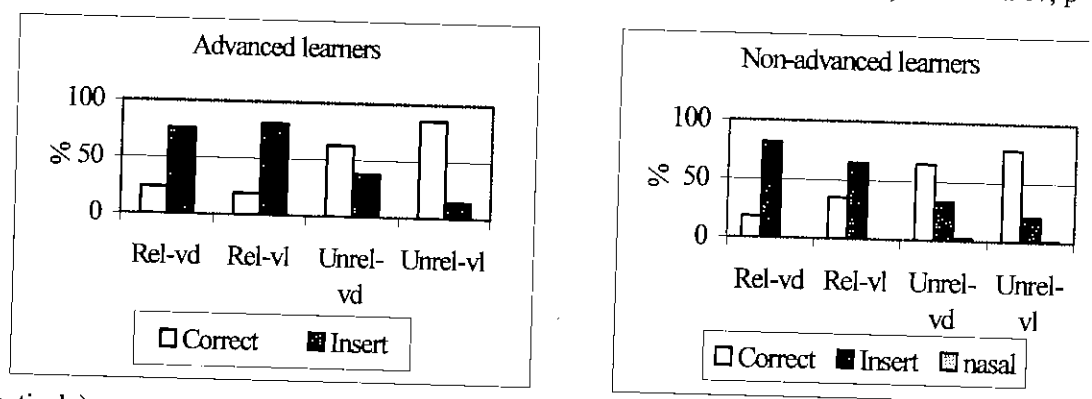


Although Korean learners did not show statistically significant effect of the place of articulation on responses overall, the effect was different depending on whether they were advanced learners or non-advanced learners. In the case of advanced learners, the result was significant, while, in the case of Korean non-advanced

learners, the result was not significant. With Korean advanced learners, the place of articulation as a factor played a role in the perception of an epenthetic vowel. They showed the perception of an epenthetic vowel in labial-labial, labial-coronal, and coronal-coronal sequences (58%, 71%, and 54%) more often than in coronal-labial, velar-labial, and velar-coronal sequences (42%, 46%, and 42%). That labial-coronal sequences show remarkable percentage (71%: a voiced sequence (79%) and a voiceless sequence (63%)) in the perception of an epenthetic vowel may be motivated by the fact that the second closure (coronal) is behind the first closure (labial). Thus, when the first segment is released, as it has to produce a coronal nasal, its acoustic output is not hidden. The coronal-labial, velar-labial, and velar-coronal sequences show a less remarkable percentage in the perception of an epenthetic vowel (42% -- voiced stop-nasal sequences (46%) and voiceless stop-nasal sequences (38%); 46% -- voiced stop-nasal sequences (46%) and voiceless stop-nasal sequences (46%); and 42% -- voiced stop-nasal sequences (42%) and voiceless stop-nasal sequences (42%)). This may be motivated by the fact that, in each sequence, the second closure is in front of the first closure and if the second segment is closed when the first segment is released, its acoustic output will be hidden. In the cases of labial-labial and coronal-coronal sequences, voicing of stops actually affected the result of the perception of an epenthetic vowel, as illustrated in voiced labial-labial sequences and voiced coronal-coronal (67% and 63%, respectively) vs. voiceless labial-labial sequences and voiceless coronal-coronal (50% and 46%, respectively).

Although Korean learners showed the significant effect of voicing on responses ($df: 3, \Xi^2 = 22.126, p < .0001$), advanced and non-advanced learners showed different results. In the case of advanced learners, the result was not significant ($df: 1, \Xi^2 = 2.727, p < .0987$). Conversely, with non-advanced learners, the result was significant ($df: 3, \Xi^2 = 19.907, p < .0002$). With non-advanced learners, voicing as a factor played a role in the perception of an epenthetic vowel (voiced stops: 57%, voiceless stops: 43%). It shows that non-advanced learners are more affected by the phonological patterning of their first language.

Figure (6) shows effect of releasedness and voicing as factors on responses within Korean advanced learners and Korean non-advanced learners, respectively. In the cases of both advanced learners and non-advanced learners, the results are very significant ($df: 3, \Xi^2 = 88.654, p < .0001$; $df: 9, \Xi^2 = 212.907, p < .0001$,



respectively).

Figure 6. Korean advanced/non-advanced learners: released/unreleased stops and voiced/voiceless stops

5. CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study has been to examine how Korean learners of English perceive sequences of a stop plus a nasal in English. Korean listeners' perception is different from English listeners' perception. Overall, Korean listeners perceived an epenthetic vowel significantly, which was affected primarily by the release and/or voicing of stops. In the case of advanced learners, place of articulation played a more important role than voicing as a cue for perception. In second language learning, perception is affected by the phonological patterning of Korean in which the release of stops and voiced stops occur only in syllable initial position.

NOTES

I am truly grateful to Dr. Victoria Anderson for making many helpful comments. All errors in this paper are of course my own.

1. Stops before nasals are usually unreleased whether they are voiced or voiceless. Release hardly ever occurs, especially, in casual speech.
2. Released aspirated and tense stops are not voiced, as in /it^hal/ [it^hal] for *secession*. Stops undergoing tensification are also not voiced, as in /paltal/ [palt'al] for *development*.
3. Release refers to the type of movement made by the vocal organs away from a point of articulation, particularly with regard to oral stops. English stops, for example, may be released with or without aspiration, as in *pie* and *zipper/cat*. In this experiment, released stops accompany a little aspiration (Crystal 1997: 329).
4. In Figure (1), *correct* indicates correct responses; *insert* indicates perception of an inserted vowel in responses; *meta* indicates metathesis; *nas* indicates perception of a stop as a nasal.
5. This point is drawn from the fact that segments in the coda (usually, unreleased) are less salient than those in the onset that are always released.

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ON ACQUISITION OF PHRASES WITH SEQUENCES OF NOMINAL MODIFIERS

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ABSTRACT

In the theory of language acquisition, Continuity Hypothesis (CH) asserts that the child grammar follows the same principles as that of adult speaker. Based on the experimental results involving phrases with sequences of pre-nominal modifiers, as in *the second green ball*, Matthei (1982) claimed that children pass through a phase in which they assign flat syntactic structure to such phrases (where meanings of the modifiers are independently applied to the noun). This contradicts the CH prediction that the assigned structure would be hierarchical from the early stage on.

Alternative causes of errors in Matthei's experiment were suggested by Hamburger and Crain (1984): 'premature decision' and 'insufficient planning'. In this paper, we examine the impact of word order in the test phrase on children's interpretation. Two languages, English and Indonesian, are used in the experiment with seven bilingual children. The errors in interpreting the phrase *the second green ball* due to 'premature decision' should be avoided when the word order is changed into "the ball green second", as it appears in Indonesian.

The results show that the children make errors in both languages. Therefore, the 'premature decision' is not crucial, and certainly not solely responsible for the children's errors in this type of experiment. The types of responses children give, however, suggest that some of the errors are due to assigning non-relative meaning to ordinal numbers, or being altogether unable to process the phrase. Possible directions in examining the exact nature of the errors are given at the end.

1. INTRODUCTION

In the theory of development, the Continuity Hypothesis asserts that: "a full-fledged Universal Grammar is available from the earliest stages of language acquisition" (O'Grady 1997:333). In particular, the hierarchical structure of the sentence, in which the words are combined into more complex syntactic units, as in [John [saw the ball]], is present even in very young children.

Maturation theory, on the contrary, claims that some of the principles appear later, and can only be explained by the maturation (time) mechanisms, which are "inherent part of the genetic program" (Felix 1987:114).

Based on the experimental results (Roeper 1972, Matthei 1982) involving phrases with pre-nominal modifiers, e.g. *the second green ball*, Matthei (1982) claimed that children pass through a phase in which they assign flat syntactic structure (where meaning of the modifiers are independently applied to the noun) to such phrases. This claim of growing from flat into hierarchical structure phase is directly opposed to the Continuity Hypothesis.

In Matthei's experiment (1982), children were asked to select the object described by the phrase from an array of line drawings. The array was presented first, and the stimulus phrase followed.

In their 1984 paper, Hamburger and Crain showed that much of the discrepancy in Roeper's and Matthei's results with the Continuity theory was result of the experimental design. They repeated the object selecting task from the picture array, while introducing two changes in the experiment (1984:118). They 1) presented the stimulus phrase before the picture array was shown, and 2) introduced handling of objects that constitute the picture arrays. These changes were designed to avoid the premature decision, i.e. pointing to the object before hearing the whole phrase, and premature planning. The modified experiment showed that the interpretation error was sharply reduced, thus making the 'flat structure hypothesis' questionable.

In this paper, we examine the impact of word order in the test phrase on premature decision. Two languages, English and Indonesian, are used in the experiment with seven bilingual children. The interpretation errors due to premature decision, when the phrases of the form <ordinal><attributive modifier><noun>, e.g. *the second green ball*, are used, should be avoided when the word order is changed into <noun><attributive modifier><ordinal>, e.g. *bola hijau kedua* 'ball green second' as it appears in Indonesian phrase. Namely, the child cannot point to the second object before hearing the whole phrase simply because the ordinal comes at the end of the phrase. If such errors still occur in the experiment using Indonesian language, then the cause must be something other than the premature decision.

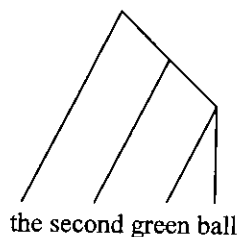
The results show that the children make errors in the two languages without significant difference. Therefore, the premature decision is not crucial, and certainly not solely responsible for the children's errors in this type of experiment. The types of response children give, however, suggest that some of the errors are due to assigning non-relative meaning to ordinal numbers, or being altogether unable to process the phrase.

In the following, some details of the phrase structure with two modifiers are given first. The experiment is described in section 3, and the results reported in section 4. Next, the discussion of the results and difficulty with the experimental design are given. A brief conclusion is given at the end.

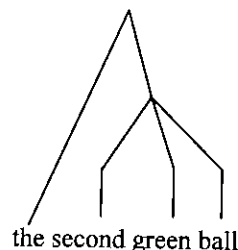
2. STRUCTURE OF THE PHRASE WITH SEQUENCE OF MODIFIERS

In the theory of syntactic representation¹, phrases like *the second green ball* are assigned hierarchical structure, as shown in (1). In general, these phrases can be described as <ordinal><attributive modifier><noun>.

(1)



(2)



In languages other than English, the order of the components might differ: in Indonesian, it is *bola hijau kedua* 'ball green second' (<noun><attributive modifier><ordinal>), while in Italian it is *la seconda palla verde* 'the second ball green' (<ordinal><noun><attributive modifier>). Yet, the meaning is always the same: the ball that is second in the subset of green balls. This makes *green ball* a constituent, to which the ordinal *second* is applied. If we assume, for the purpose of this paper, that the semantic structure is mapped directly to the syntactic structure², the hierarchy of syntactic representation readily follows.

Two different types of errors in interpreting phrases like *the third green ball* were reported in previous work: intersective interpretation, in which the chosen object 'is in third position in the array', 'is green', and 'is a ball', and head-set interpretation (Hamburger and Crain 1984:114-115), in which the object 'is the third ball' and 'is green ball'. In the picture array shown in (3), C corresponds to intersective, D to head-set, and F to adult interpretation.

(3)

A	B	C	D	E	F
Brown ball	Green car	Green ball	Green ball	Brown ball	Green ball

Matthei attributes the head-set errors³ to the flat syntactic structure shown in (2). In this paper, however, it is posited that the head-set errors are results of *partial searching strategy* rather than the lack of the correct interpretation⁴. A child uses partial searching strategy due to difficulty in processing the complete phrase. Only a part of the phrase is considered and the rest of information is verified at the end.

The intersective errors could also be a result of partial search, but it will be argued that this type of error is likely a consequence of using non-relative meaning of ordinal. In addition to intersective (I) and head-set (HS)

interpretation, a possible partial strategy would be to look for 'the second green object' and then check if it 'is a ball'. We include this interpretation for completeness, and call it ordinal-adjective (OA).⁵ This interpretation could also be a result of premature decision.

3. THE EXPERIMENT

3.1 SUBJECTS

The subjects in the experiment were bilingual English-Indonesian children ranging in age from 3;11 (year; month) to 6;7, with the average age 5;3. Five of the subjects were boys and two were girls. One more child (age 4;3) was tested, but the results were excluded because the child could not complete the test⁶. Three of these children were completely bilingual, using one of the languages in school and the other at home, while the other four were only able to understand the basic conversation in the second language. However, it was made sure that each child knew meanings of vocabulary used in the test.

3.2 TEST TECHNIQUE

Due to the difficulties in finding the bilingual children of the right age in Honolulu, two testing modes were used: 1) in-person testing (in Honolulu) and 2) remote computer testing. Five children from Honolulu, Hawaii were tested in-person with a help of a native speaker of Indonesian, or an Indonesian-speaking parent. Two children, one from Singapore, and the other one from Jakarta, Indonesia were tested using computer with the help of their parents.

Parents (remote examiners) were e-mailed written instructions about the procedure together with the test files. Testing procedure was explained in detail. Parents were encouraged not to interfere with the answers by asking questions or commenting on the "non-adult" responses coming from children. They were instructed to treat the test as a game, and to encourage children regardless of their response.

For both groups, testing was done in two sessions, one for each language, approximately a week apart. Interview consisted of two parts: a *pretest* and a *test*.

Pretest was given at the beginning of each session to make sure that a child knew the meanings of the words 'second' and 'third' and that (s)he could count up to five. A child was also examined on lexical items and the colors used in the test. A big yellow arrow pointing from left to right was introduced, and children were informed that it indicated the usual direction of counting. The arrow was kept throughout the test.

PRETEST: A child was shown a black carton board with five pink triangles and asked to count them from left to right. The child was then asked to identify the third and then the second object. Next, the sequence of big and small pink squares was shown and the child was asked to count them. Then (s)he was asked how many big and how many small squares there were in the sequence. At the end, children were asked to name the colors used in the test (red, blue and green).

The test technique used in the experiment was forced-choice. The child was asked to point to an object in the array. For each task, a display with an array of line drawings was presented to the child and then the stimulus phrase was read, for instance, "Which one is the third big car?" Twelve questions were asked one by one and the responses were written down on the answer sheet.

3.3 PHRASE-DISPLAY PAIRS

Phrases with a sequence of two nominal modifiers (described in the previous section) were used with ordinals 'second' or 'third' (higher ordinals would be complex for small children), and attributive adjective modifiers 'big', 'small', 'red', 'blue', or 'green'.

The display-phrase pairs satisfied three criteria as suggested by Hamburger and Crain (1984): 1) Each display contained correct answer for the given phrase 2) Various interpretations that children might make were detectable, and 3) Both adjective and noun served some pragmatic function⁷. However, due to small ordinals used in the stimulus phrases, it was not possible to satisfy the second criterion completely. Namely, only two

interpretations could be distinguished in phrases with 'second' and three in phrases with 'third'. However, various combinations of distinguishable interpretations are made. On assumption that children follow the same strategy (always make the same type of error), the ambiguity can be removed. Out of twelve phrases, six were made unbiased (only adult representation is available) and the other six biased (erroneous (I), (HS) and (OA) interpretations are also possible)

For the in-person test, each display was made of 5.5x17in orange cardboard. Seven line drawings on white paper were glued on the cardboard equally spaced. A table with exact configuration of the displays and the corresponding stimulus phrases is given in the Appendix.

For computer-based test, the same set of twelve picture-arrays was drawn using Microsoft Word. Each display was designed to fit one letter-size page with landscape orientation. The yellow arrow indicating the direction of counting was drawn below each picture array. The phrase was written on the top of the page. All of the components (the phrase, the picture array and the arrow) could be seen on the screen at the same time.

4. RESULTS

Despite a long search for suitable subjects, only seven of them were able to complete the experiment. Consequently, no statistical analysis would be justifiable. However, one-way ANOVA could be performed based on the given tables, if the number of subjects had been large enough. Consequently, individual interpretations are observed. For small number of subjects this is indicative of a strategy that a particular child is using.

The main results are represented in Tables 1-5. In Table 1, the number of correct (A) interpretations in twelve tasks is given for each child. Table 2 contains similar data for intersective (I) interpretations. Where distinguishable, no (OA) type of error was made.

Table 1 and Table 2 illustrate the 'premature decision effect'. Comparison of (I) and (A) responses in English and Indonesian shows that more intersective errors are made in Indonesian where they cannot be a result of premature decision. In fact, the reverse is true – more errors of this type are made in Indonesian session.

Next, comparison of (I) responses to number of (HS) responses shows that, where these two are distinguishable, more fully intersective than head-set errors are made: two (I) errors vs. one (HS) in English, and seven (I) vs. one (HS) in Indonesian. Head-set response could be associated to flat phrase structure, but not the intersective one. Thus, present results do not support Matthei's claim that the majority of errors point to the flat syntactic structure in children.

Looking at the types of errors that cannot be classified as (I) or (HS) it can be noted that among 14 such errors, 1) five could be decoded as (A) response if the reverse direction of counting were used, and 2) four could be decoded as (I) responses if the reverse direction of counting were used.

Alternatively, four among these nine could be interpreted as 'second consecutive object'. Some additional questions revealed that children are prone to choose one of the several consecutive objects determined by the ordinal and not by the descriptive modifier.

A clear age trend can be noticed from Tables 1-4. The number of errors made decreases with age. It can be seen even better if the answers are compared for a particular session (the results of the first session are shadowed).

Table 1 Number of correct (adult) answers (out of 12)

Lang/name	G (3;11)	Y (4;1)	H (4;7)	K (5;3)	G (6;2)	N (6;4)	I (6;7)	Σ (%)
English			12	12	12			75(89)
<i>Biased</i>	4	5	6	6	6	5	6	38(90)
<i>Unbiased</i>	3	4	6	6	6	6	6	37(88)
Indonesian	5	8				12	12	68(81)
<i>Biased</i>	1	5	6	5	5	6	6	34(81)
<i>Unbiased</i>	4	3	5	5	5	6	6	34(81)

Table 2 Number of intersective responses (out of 12)

Lang/name	G (3;11)	Y (4;1)	H (4;7)	K (5;3)	G (6;2)	N (6;4)	I (6;7)	Σ (%)
English			0	0	0			2(2)
<i>Biased</i>	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2(5)
<i>Unbiased</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0(0)
Indonesian	5	0				0	0	7(8)
<i>Biased</i>	5	0	0	1	1	0	0	7(17)
<i>Unbiased</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0(0)

Table 3 Number of head-set responses (out of 12)

Lang/name	G (3;11)	Y (4;1)	H (4;7)	K (5;3)	G (6;2)	N (6;4)	I (6;7)	Σ (%)
English			0	0	0			2(2)
<i>Biased</i>	1=(A)	0	0	0	0	1	0	2(5)
<i>Unbiased</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0(0)
Indonesian	2	0				0	0	3(4)
<i>Biased</i>	2=(I)	0	0	0	0	0	0	2(5)
<i>Unbiased</i>	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1(2)

Table 4 Number of other responses (out of 12)

Lang/name	G (3;11)	Y (4;1)	H (4;7)	K (5;3)	G (6;2)	N (6;4)	I (6;7)	Σ (%)
English			0	0	0			7(8)
<i>Biased</i>	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2(5)
<i>Unbiased</i>	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	5(12)
Indonesian	2	4				0	0	8(10)
<i>Biased</i>	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1(2)
<i>Unbiased</i>	2	3	0	1	1	0	0	7(17)

Table 5 Total number of erroneous responses (out of 12)

Lang/name	G (3;11)	Y (4;1)	H (4;7)	K (5;3)	G (6;2)	N (6;4)	I (6;7)	Σ (%)
English			0	0	0			9(11)
<i>Biased</i>	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	4(9)
<i>Unbiased</i>	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	5(12)
Indonesian	7	4				0	0	16(19)
<i>Biased</i>	5	1	0	1	1	0	0	9(21)
<i>Unbiased</i>	2	3	1	1	1	0	0	8(19)

5. DISCUSSION

Based on the results of the previous section, we conclude that the word order <noun><attributive modifier><ordinal modifier> does not remedy intersective errors in interpreting phrases with sequences of nominal modifiers. On the contrary, we have a reverse trend, i.e., the number of errors is larger for Indonesian. Therefore, they are not a result of premature decision.

Given that the number of intersective errors is larger for phrases with ordinal modifier at the end, an interesting question arises. Namely, does what is heard first have higher impact than what is heard last or vice versa? However, one needs to be careful with interpretation given the small number of subjects, and the small number of errors made.

In his paper, Matthei (1982) assumed that the errors correspond to flat syntactic structure. However, only the head-set errors could be associated with flat structure. Both Hamburger and Crain's (1984) and our results⁸ agree that this type of errors is not dominant, therefore indicating that this could not be source of errors.

Now, if the intersective error is not a result of premature decision, what could be the reason for this kind of interpretation? From the definition of intersective interpretation, it can be seen that the meaning of ordinal is considered independently, thus not having relative meaning. Matthei rejects this explanation based on results of a similar experiment with phrases <ordinal><noun>, e.g., *the second bear*. He claimed that the relative meaning of ordinals was accessible to children. These results, however, were later shown not to be conclusive (Hamburger and Crain 1984:124).

Assuming the non-relative meaning of ordinal, intersective interpretation can be associated to hierarchical structure, namely "choose set of green balls; then choose that one in the subset with a property that it is second in the array". This is not the usual way of counting objects, but it is plausible for the non-relative meaning of the ordinals.

During the experiment, it was noticed that children who made high number of errors commented that it was difficult. Children who were most enthusiastic about doing the tasks made small number of errors, if any. The time spent on doing tasks also points in this direction, i.e., small number of errors corresponds to short time in which the tasks were completed. This indicates that there was a processing difficulty for children who made most of the errors.

In some cases, children made the head-set interpretation but then self corrected to the adult response. This agrees with the partial search strategy assumption, that is, a child uses a partial strategy "find second ball", and after realizing that it does not correspond to the whole phrase, corrects the response. Children who choose head-set interpretation perform the partial strategy without final check. It should be noticed that this is a reasonable strategy. Partial searches with a check are often considered for simplifying complex problems⁹. Thus, again, the errors seem to be a result of trying to simplify the task.

5.1 PROBLEMS WITH THE EXPERIMENT

One of the assumptions that were made before the picture-array phrase pairs were designed was that a child would use the same strategy in choosing the response. This was shown not to be the case, that is, a child would give an intersective response for one stimulus phrase, and adult response for a different phrase. For this reason, the picture-array phrase pairs need to be designed so that different types of interpretations could be uniquely identified. The fact that a child who is asked to explain why (s)he choose a particular drawing/object often just gives another answer (thinking the previous one was wrong) contributes to the need for uniquely distinguishable responses.

There were also some indications that children do not respect the direction of counting from left to right. A large yellow arrow was introduced to remind a child about the direction of counting. However, some of the responses that otherwise cannot be interpreted, correspond to an adult or intersective responses with the inverted counting direction. Thus, when designing the picture-array phrase pairs with uniquely interpretable responses

both counting directions should be considered¹⁰. These requests make the design of the picture arrays more complex, and in some cases require bigger size of the picture array.

Analysis of errors that cannot be interpreted as either (A), (I), (HS), or (OA) shows that a strategy choose second among the consecutive hats was used for finding *the second blue hat* (Appendix: task 3). This also indicates that the meaning of ordinals for children is negotiable, i.e., it can be relative to the noun, or relative to set of objects in the array (not explicitly mentioned), or second in the local area.

A test using stimulus phrases with ordinal numbers then suffers from some serious problems. First, it is necessary to make sure that children have acquired relative meaning of ordinals. In addition, two directions of counting are possible and it is necessary to reinforce a particular direction or to make more complex picture-array designs in which no interpretation from the right coincides with any of the interpretations from left. Next, even when using the relative meaning of the ordinal, it is possible to apply the ordinal to a smaller, visually salient subset, as in interpretation the second consecutive object. To find children of age three to five who can count and are familiar with ordinals is in itself a difficult task, and the previously mentioned problems make it even more so.

So, could a different type of stimulus phrases with the sequences of modifiers be used, one in which ordinals are not used? One such phrase would be [*the smallest [red ball]*]. Similar cognitive task is required here: 'find the subset of red balls; then find the smallest in the subset'. The adult choice for this phrase is not necessarily 'the smallest object in the array', or even 'smallest ball'. So neither (I) nor (HS) is identical to (A) for every array configuration. However, if there is an object that corresponds to (I) or (HS) interpretation, then they are identical to adult interpretation.¹¹ Thus, this type of test would only be able to test the unbiased arrays.

6. CONCLUSION

In this paper, we investigated children's interpretation of the phrases with a sequence of two modifiers. In particular, we were interested in whether the word order in stimulus phrases affects the intersective type of errors, which might be a result of premature decision.

The results showed that the intersective errors are independent of the word order, and thus must be caused by something other than the premature decision. Next, it was noticed that head set interpretation, which is the only one that could possibly correspond to flat syntactic structure is not consistently used by children. Therefore, their occasional errors could be a result of processing difficulty and trying to perform partial search for the object described by only a part of the phrase.

It was also shown that children make various other types of errors. These suggest that the main problem lays in lack of command of usage of ordinal numbers. Alternative test with the phrases without ordinals was suggested.

While it is needed to continue the investigation on children's interpretation of phrases with sequence of modifiers, especially to conduct a larger study that would enable us to obtain statistically significant results, the results of this paper strongly disagree with the possibility that the hierarchical structure is not available to young children. At present, the main cause of errors could be attributed to processing difficulty and problems with experimental design.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank all the children who participated in this study as well as their parents for their gracious help. Next, I would like to thank Professor William O'Grady for supervising this project and giving many helpful suggestions and comments, and to fellow students, Michiko Nakamura and Cathy Kawahata for their suggestions during the Conference. Finally, many thanks to my husband, Turro Wongkaren, for his assistance in translating the instructions into Indonesian and for making all the drawings used in the experiment.

NOTES

1. In this paper we use Government and Binding Theory (Haegeman 1999)
2. For some discussion see Matthei (1982: 322-325)
3. Matthei calls them intersective because the intersective and head-set interpretations in his experiment were not distinguishable. His definition corresponds to that of head-set in this paper.
4. It was shown by an independent experiment that children who make these types of errors do have hierarchical representation (Hamburger and Crain 1984:127).
5. Here ordinal and adjective are considered a unit for searching
6. The child was not familiar with the concept of ordinal numbers.
7. There were balls and non-balls, green and non-green, or small and big objects in each array.
8. In some cases, a child insisted that "the second" means second in the display, not the second among the balls
9. Searching for maximum with several constraints is sometimes simplified by leaving out one constraint and checking its validity in the end. If it is satisfied, the search is completed. Otherwise, more complex methods are used when possible.
10. For instance, given the phrase "Show me the second big bear", the second big bear should not be the second bear from the right (in this case (A) is the same as reverse (HS)), or the second object from the right (whence (A) is the same as reverse (I)).
11. If an object is smallest in the set then it is smallest in any subset, thus "smallest object AND red AND ball" implies being "smallest ball AND red" which implies "smallest red ball". This is not the case for phrases with ordinals, because "the second in the set" does not imply being "second in the subset" (and in most cases it is not).

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Appendix: Table describing the structure of picture arrays and the corresponding stimulus phrases

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g
Second green ball	red tree	green ball	red tree	red tree	green ball	red ball	green tree
Third big fish	big fish	big fish	small hat	big hat	small fish	big fish	small hat
Second blue hat	red hat	blue fish	blue fish	red hat	blue hat	red fish	blue hat
Third big tree	small tree	small tree	big tree	big ball	big tree	small ball	big tree
Second blue hat	blue fish	blue hat	red fish	blue hat	red hat	blue fish	blue hat
Third small car	small car	small car	small apple	big car	small car	big apple	big car
Second red apple	red apple	green apple	red car	red apple	green apple	red apple	green car
Third small fish	small hat	small hat	small fish	big fish	small fish	small fish	big fish
Second big apple	small apple	big apple	small car	big apple	small apple	big car	small car
Third green tree	green tree	green ball	red tree	green ball	red tree	green tree	green tree
Second small ball	small ball	big ball	big tree	small tree	small ball	small ball	big tree
Third red car	red apple	green car	red car	red car	green apple	red car	green car

IV. Second Language Studies

A FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING ASSISTANT PROGRAM: AN EVALUATION CASE STUDY

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ABSTRACT

In a French division of a university in the United States, teaching assistants (TAs) are responsible for instruction in most first-year language courses. TAs' performance can influence the status of the division; therefore, it is important to train and supervise them well.

In this paper, I described the TA training and supervision program of this French division and I included comments reflecting TAs' and supervisors' satisfaction with their program. Three main areas were explored: TA orientation, TA in-service training, and TA evaluation. Using DiDonato's and Schulz's checklist to promote a high quality training and supervision program, and using TAs' and supervisors' input, the three main areas of the program were evaluated.

The data suggested that most TAs and supervisors were satisfied with the program. However, a few TAs asked for more theoretical background, and TAs as well as supervisors made suggestions to modify or to add some activities in the training and supervision program in order to improve its efficiency.

I. Background

During the last seventy years, an increasing amount of literature has been published on the role of teaching assistants and the importance of their training in foreign language departments (Laing, 1930; Wise, 1967; Nyquist, Abbott, Wulff, 1989). Waltz (2000) explained that high-quality instruction for undergraduates had become a strong point of interest in the past few years as indicated by all the workshops, seminars and articles devoted to this issue (Articles in AAUSC collection, 2000).

Nyquist, Abbott and Wulff (1989) pointed out that virtually all professors had once been TAs. They emphasized the need for training and supervision of TAs: "Not to act is to decide that the 500,000 new professors who will be needed by 2014 will probably not be prepared to teach undergraduates (9)." Indeed, the purpose of training and supervising TAs is to prepare them to become successful teachers or professors. However, if TAs do not receive appropriate training and supervision to develop professionally, they may never learn how to teach properly and universities would fail in providing good education.

At the beginning of the new millennium, Waltz (2000; ix) reported that the majority of students in the U.S. enrolled in foreign language classes were at the first- or second-year levels. They were generally taught by TAs since TAs represented about 80 percent of instructional staff in foreign language departments (Herschensohn, 2000; 124).

In such circumstances, TAs' performances influence the students' perspective and experience of a particular language. Consequently, the TAs' performance influence the future standing of the foreign language departments in colleges and universities. A way to prevent language departments from disappearing is by promoting enrollment in foreign language classes.

In 1978, Schulz reported that the number of students majoring in foreign language at the graduate and undergraduate level had decreased. She found that more and more colleges and universities had eliminated the foreign language requirement. In addition, other colleges and universities no longer required their students to study a foreign language long enough to acquire even a minimal level of proficiency.

This decline appears to have continued and was evident at the university where I conducted my study. In 1999, the College of Engineering's request to have the language requirement waived for students majoring in its field was granted. When I conducted my investigation, the College of Tropical Agriculture and Human Resources and the Department of Dental Hygiene had requested that the language requirement be waived.

Also, the College of Business Administration was reported to be considering waiving the language requirement. The language departments were threatened by these requests, and many of them were concerned with being eliminated. A first step to promote effective language learning is to train and supervise teaching assistants so that they will acquire the skills to deliver a high-quality instruction. In this way, TAs will improve language learning and motivate more students to learn foreign languages.

Researchers have attempted to establish general guidelines for a complete training and supervision program of this kind. In 1983, DiDonato provided a very helpful checklist for TA training and supervision. The checklist includes three sections dealing with orientation, in-service training, and evaluation of TAs to assure a professional quality training and supervision. The checklist resulted from a conference at the University of Wisconsin Madison in 1979, focusing specifically on the training of teaching assistants in foreign language departments. These suggestions were the result of the idea-sharing of the University of Wisconsin faculty's research work in the field of TA training. The faculty members of the University of Wisconsin have been active researchers in the field of TA training and supervision (e.g., Nerenz, Heron, Knop, 1979; Knop, Heron, 1982; Gardner, Geitz, Knop, Magnan, DiDonato, 1987; James, 2000; Rifkin, 2000) and DiDonato's (1983) training and supervision checklist has often been referred to by researchers in the field (Fox, 2000; Herschensohn, 2000).

DiDonato (1983) proposed a checklist for TA orientation, TA in-service training and TA evaluation which can be done in a semester but which can be extended to a year (see Appendix A).

According to DiDonato's recommendations for TA orientation, a) the TAs should be welcomed by experienced TAs and/or professors of the department; b) the orientation should include activities to expose new TAs to a "shock" language lesson; c) they should rehearse a lesson with their peers; d) they should watch their teaching on videotape; e) they should watch videotapes of classes; f) they should review, evaluate and discuss ideas about teaching; g) they should receive administrative information; h) they should become acquainted with the premises and the material, the faculty and the staff; i) they should be informed about and discuss target culture and classroom problems; j) and they should be assigned offices with experienced TAs.

In the TA in-service training program, DiDonato suggests TAs a) should receive a methods course, b) they should observe experienced TAs and be observed by them, c) they should videotape and watch their teaching, d) they should promote a common materials file for classroom use, e) they should participate in professional organizations in the field, f) they should be aware of the program articulation within the department, g) they should have the opportunity to teach upper-division literature or culture classes, h) and they should be aware of counseling services for students.

In the TA evaluation process, DiDonato suggested TAs a) should be familiar with evaluation checklist content prior to observation, b) they should be observed by several supervisors and peers, c) they should meet with supervisors prior to observation in order to discuss classroom matters, d) and they should give students opportunities to evaluate the TAs.

DiDonato offered a very detailed checklist where he successfully described each step to take starting from Day One to insure a high-quality training and supervision. However, he did not address the issue of a preliminary training before TAs' duties started and he did not involve the departmental administrators.

Schulz (1980) offered more recommendations to add to DiDonato's checklist. Her suggestions were the result of her survey conducted in 160 randomly selected foreign language departments in the U.S. She insisted on the important role of departmental administration and supervisors in supporting an efficient training program (see appendix B). She suggested a formal training requirement before TAs' full teaching duties, release time for supervisors duties, involvement of all faculty members in TA supervision, involvement of the department head to support and administer a set of criteria for evaluation, opportunities for self-evaluation and peer critiques, a midterm and end-of-term teacher evaluation, and an annual evaluation of the training program by TAs. She also suggested creating a TA teaching award and providing opportunities for TAs to be trained by professionals in TA training.

DiDonato's (1983) and Schulz's (1980) recommendations from a complete checklist to assess a training and supervision program for TAs in foreign language departments. Many researchers refer to these works (Gardner, L. C., Geitz, H., Knopp, C., Magnan, S. S., & DiDonato, R., 1987; Fox, 2000; Herschensohn, 2000) because they reflect and respond to the needs of today's institutional structures of training and supervision programs. In the following report, I used DiDonato's and Schulz's recommendations to evaluate the program I studied.

II. The Study

This case study describes a foreign language division in a university in the western U.S. where TAs are mainly responsible for teaching the first-year language courses.

A. Purpose

The purpose of this study is to benefit my language division. I believe that the findings will help identify the strengths and the weaknesses of the program to enable the division to build up on its expertise and to address its needs. This way, the program will train competent TAs to promote the success of the division and secure its status.

B. Participants

The university offered a very wide variety of foreign language classes in Pacific, Asian, and European languages. In the French division, there were seven professors, two instructors and eight TAs. TAs could teach for a total of four semesters. The semester during which I gathered the data, there were eight female TAs, and five of them were non-native speakers of French. Natalie and Linda were in their fourth semester, Brenda was in her third semester, Heather was in her second semester, and Anna was in her first semester. The native speakers of French all in their second semester, were Marina, Francine and myself. In addition, the three former TAs had taught for four semesters: Marianne, Ignes, and Laura. Marianne and Isabelle were native speakers of French.

All TAs were assigned one class to teach. Marina, Francine, Natalie, Linda, Heather, Anna, and myself were supervised by Ms. Johns for the first-year level, and Brenda was supervised by Dr. Martin for the second-year level. Marianne and Ignes were supervised by Dr. Martin as well as Ms. Johns because they taught French in first- and second-year level. Laura was supervised by Ms. Johns.

Ms. Johns was an instructor in French and she supervised TAs in charge of the first-year level. She had assisted another supervisor for four years, and she replaced him three years ago. Virtually all TAs teach the first-year level; therefore she supervised most of them.

Dr. Martin, professor of French, was also the supervisor for TAs in charge of the second-year level of French. She had been supervising TAs for twenty years. Dr. Martin studied for her Ph.D. in French at Berkeley where she was a TA. She won the award for the best TA, and consequently, the following year she conducted the pilot class (see below) for the new TAs. A few years after she became a professor at the university where she was currently teaching, she inaugurated the pilot class.

Few TAs were offered the opportunity to teach at the second-year level. Dr. Martin explained that it was an "honor" for TAs. Only lecturers or instructors are normally assigned this level. However, because of budget cuts, some TAs were assigned, if they wished to, to teach the classes at this level. After teaching French 101 and 102, and following the corresponding pilot classes (see below) some TAs were eligible to teach the second-year level. Decisions were collective, and Dr. Martin, Ms. Johns as well as other members of the faculty participated in the decision making.

Each TA's class had from 5 to 20 students depending on the semester, the time and the level of the class. A TA was fully responsible for her class (as I explain in greater detail below) but she received training and was supervised.

During the interview, Martin gave me information regarding the TAs' candidacy. To be eligible for candidacy for a teaching assistantship, the individual must be admitted as a graduate student in the French division. In order to become a graduate student in the French division, a student must have received a Bachelor of Arts in French or equivalent with deficiencies. Students without such a BA but with a degree in another major might have been required to take some classes in French before being admitted. Once admitted as graduate students in the language division, they were eligible for a teaching assistantship. As a team, each faculty member of the division considers the candidate for an assistantship. Non-native speakers of French who are unavailable for interviews are required to send a recording. Students who took their Bachelor of Arts in the French division to have priority because the faculty knows their students well enough to assure a successful decision, but also they want to favor them for being willing to pursue their studies in their division. All TAs are also required to have written and oral knowledge of a third language or to acquire one during the master's program.

As Dr. Martin explained, TA hiring was not influenced by prior education or experience in teaching but it seemed that most TAs had some experience. With the exception of Natalie, Laura and Ign s, everyone else had some experience in teaching or public relation before they started their TAship. Linda was a student helper in a high school, Brenda taught French for five years in a high school, Heather taught evening classes in French and she did some tutoring in French and Chinese, Marina taught French to high school students for six months during an intensive teaching training program, Francine taught French in a language school for many years, Anna earned credits toward her degree to teach two psychology classes at this university under the supervision of a teacher, Marianne was a law counselor where she trained adults in a classroom setting, and I had tutored French and had been a teacher helper in an ESL program in an elementary school. Beside Marina and Ann, no one had received training and supervision in their teaching experience.

Neither DiDonato nor Schulz addressed the issue of TAs' eligibility because it was understood that the primary impetus function of a TA program is to train the student to develop into competent teachers and professors. Dr. Martin said, "Some [TAs] have to be trained and some have weaknesses and that's what they are here for. They are here to learn."

C. Procedures

I gathered a range of information concerning the TA training and supervision program of the French division.

I interviewed the eight TAs and three former TAs using the questionnaires I designed (Appendix C). I started to hand out the questionnaires but TAs took a long time returning them. I found after receiving three of them that it was necessary for me to ask the questions myself to obtain more data. Therefore, I talked to the three TAs who gave me the questionnaires back in order to gather more data, and I asked to meet with all the other TAs in order to conduct an interview with all of them. I also interviewed the two supervisors (Appendix D). All interviews lasted from a half an hour to an hour and they all were audiotaped with the exception of the three TAs I mentioned above and a supervisor with whom the recording failed.

Since I was an insider, I had easy access to all informational materials regarding the duties of the TAship as well as the instructional materials used for teaching. They were given to me upon entering to the TAship; therefore, I named and described the content of these materials when it was relevant.

In addition, I knew what services were available to us as TAs and I researched more on these through their websites. Those services such as workshops, seminars and conferences for promoting professional development for TAs were described.

V. Conclusion

I believe that most TAs and supervisors were satisfied with the overall structure of the training and the supervision provided by their division. TAs appreciated receiving training and supervision, and most of them seemed to be satisfied with the practical training. Moreover, the atmosphere among supervisors and TAs was constructive and positive. Nevertheless, I agree with the supervisors and TAs who found that there was room

for improvement. They expressed very specific needs that often reflected the recommendations of the DiDonato and Schulz.

I found that the TAs' training and supervision followed most of DiDonato's (1980) suggestions for TA orientation, such as the tour for new TAs, the workshop offered by experienced TAs and professors, the discussions of different issues on classroom activities, teaching materials and responsibilities, the office shared by all TAs to enable new TAs to talk with experienced TAs, the gathering of material in the TAs office, and time for individual consultation.

However, the program did not offer any videotaping activities to demonstrate teaching examples to new TAs. DiDonato also suggested that students be exposed to a "shock" language experience to "undergo a language-learning experience similar to that of their students." In this division, this was not done but all students were required to have knowledge of a third language. Many TAs would take language classes during their teaching assistantship if they did not fulfill this requirement. This way, TAs underwent the same learning experience as their students.

Regarding the In-Service Training, the suggestions made by TAs and supervisors reflected many of DiDonato's recommendations. I agree with the few TAs and Dr. Martin who suggested making use of videotapes to evaluate TAs' teaching. A similar service is offered by the CTE. However, TAs such as Heather were reluctant to use this service because it was not directly related to their division. However, it is possible for the CTE staff to only take care of the videotaping. The supervisor and the TA could then take some time to discuss the content of the tape.

I strongly support TAs' suggestions to observe different TAs' and faculty members' teaching. If this were done, they would witness different teaching styles and be provided with different types of feedback TAs (or even faculty members). Also DiDonato encouraged TAs to be involved in more academic activities such as conferences to push them to study and research about teacher development. Although a yearly conference was organized in the College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature, few TAs ever participated in it.

The division requirement for evaluations of TAs appeared to be more flexible and loose compared to DiDonato's more detailed evaluation. DiDonato emphasized the importance of substantial classroom observations performed by different faculty members or TAs. Prior to the observation task, the observation guidelines and the classroom background were discussed between the observee and the supervisor to abate the TAs' stress. He also encouraged the TAs to ask for a mid-term teacher evaluation from their students. All TAs were free to do so even though the division does not require it. Moreover, I believe that the more evaluation a TA receive, the more tools she has at her disposal to successfully develop as a teacher.

Also, Schulz recommended that the entire department administer a set of criteria for evaluation. However, all the other languages in the same department had different structures to train and supervise their TAs, and the evaluation criteria were conducted independently from one language division to the other. The TAs as well as the supervisors in this division seemed to be satisfied with the evaluation system. TAs in the division seemed to receive a lot of positive feedback from their students, which did not show any dysfunction. I was very satisfied with my supervisor's evaluation. Her evaluation was very detailed. I would have liked to be observed more often; however, I realized that my supervisor was often overwhelmed and I felt sufficiently confident with my teaching.

Schulz (1980) seemed to be more reluctant to trust new TAs. She did not advise the department to assign TAs to full teaching duties during the first term. Instead, she recommended that TAs receive formal training and be slowly given full teaching load. In this division, supervisors appeared to trust their TAs and TAs often mentioned that they appreciated the trust and the space to develop freely their teaching style. In this language division, TAs seemed to be comfortable teaching from day one. TAs including myself had been apprehensive the first few days of teaching. However, the pilot class enabled all of us to follow a good model until we felt more comfortable to find our own style. Moreover, most students who applied for the TAship in the French division seemed to have had some experience in teaching.

Schulz also suggested that more faculty members and administrators of the department be involved in supervision, training or other activities to support the supervisors. However, in this small division, faculty members had a lot of administrative responsibilities in addition to their teaching duties and research work. Ms. Johns did mention that she would actually like to have a student helper to perform small tasks. Many responsibilities weighed on her shoulders since she was responsible for most TAs. From my experience, I think that a student helper would be worth the investment. More faculty members could slowly try to participate in the training while the student helper would take care of the tasks, which demand little competence but requires time. For instance, one professor could shape his/her "French Stylistics" class to serve the TAs' needs in understanding their students' difficulties.

Schulz also recommended supervisors receive professional instruction in TA training and supervision. However, no one in the division made such a suggestion. I believe TAs were pleased with their supervisors. Moreover, I think that the issues that need improvement are not related to Dr. Martin's and Ms. Johns' professionalism.

I believe that supervisors and TAs suggestions were very similar to those of Dr. Martin's including Marianne's suggestions to use videotaping to evaluate TAs' teaching. However, a lack of communication prevented them from working on those issues. A mid-term meeting between the TAs and supervisors would be an affordable and resourceful time to resolve issues and improve some aspects of the program. I also believe that time appeared to be an important issue that needs to be addressed for the FL division to offer adequate training. Linda made interesting suggestions to involve TAs in teaching other classes beside the first- and second-year levels, and Dr. Martin suggested assigning the best TA to teach the pilot class. These suggestions could save time for supervisors or professors in order to offer other services to TAs.

I highly recommend a follow-up study to investigate different options to find time for supervisors and TAs to participate in more evaluative and theoretical activities. The division should survey its TAs to understand their specific interests, needs and suggestions for a more theoretical oriented training. Indeed, supervisors and TAs made pertinent suggestions and proposed solutions to resolve problems in their to improve the training and supervision program.

Overall, my view is that TAs including myself were very satisfied with the training and supervision program. More importantly, TAs and supervisors got along, and a sense of collaboration and trust created a very productive environment. When asked to make suggestions TAs and supervisors were very resourceful. These suggestions need to be seriously considered. However, this division is small and their resources are limited. Yet I believe and hope that this study will help my supervisors to identify the needs of the program, and that it will show them how to address them as best as they can.

(The details of the findings are available in Moore 572 at the University of Hawaii)

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PERFORMANCE ERRORS IN YES/NO QUESTIONS BY ADULT SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNERS: A REPLICATION OF NAKAYAMA (1987)

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ABSTRACT

The effect of structural complexity on adult second language learners' ability to produce yes/no questions was examined by means of a modified replication of a previous study in child first language acquisition (Nakayama, 1987). Nine native-speakers of Japanese learning English in the US were asked to produce yes/no questions based on aurally presented stimulus sentences and corresponding illustrations. The stimulus sentences were constructed to embody a variety of structural features while controlling for overall sentence length. The results indicate that second language learners' production of yes/no questions is affected by structural complexity and that sentence length alone is not a good predictor of processing complexity. These results are similar to those found in the original study.

1. INTRODUCTION

This study looks at the effect of structural complexity on inversion in yes/no questions for adult second language learners. It is a replication of an earlier work on the same subject in children's first language acquisition by Nakayama (1987). Though some changes were made to make the task appropriate for adult language learners, it is as faithful a reproduction as possible. In addition to providing insights into the research question, it is hoped that this paper also shows the possibilities and advantages of adapting first language experiments to the study of second language acquisition.

1.1 The original study

In English, yes/no questions in sentences with auxiliary verbs are formed by inverting the subject and the auxiliary. This can be seen in the question form (2) of sentence (1) below.

- (1) The girl is happy.
- (2) Is the girl happy?

The underline in (2) indicates that *is* was moved from its original position to a new position in front of the subject NP. Some linguists have argued that this move is not a simple flip of the verb and the subject NP, but rather two discrete moves, making a copy of the verb in front of the subject NP and subsequently deleting it from its original position (Hurford, 1975). This analysis has been used to explain children's utterances such as (3), known as copying-without-deletion errors.

- (3) *Is the girl is happy?

Nakayama (1987) showed evidence that children's production of sentences such as (3) was not the result of a faulty application of an adult grammatical principle (i.e., children were able to copy but not yet delete) but rather the effect of the structural complexity of the sentence that they were trying to produce. If an adult rule was not being applied properly, Nakayama argued, then mistakes should occur irrespective of the characteristics of the particular sentence.

To study this phenomenon in detail, Nakayama elicited yes/no questions from 16 children between the ages of three and five. He found that the complexity of the sentence, and especially the subject NP, did indeed influence the ability of the children to give a correct response. What Nakayama found was that children were much more likely to make errors in sentences such as (4) than in sentences such as (5). This was, he claimed, evidence that something other than the children's inability to use an adult rule was involved.

- (4) *Is the girl who is holding a blue bag is walking?
- (5) *Is the girl is walking?

Nakayama termed this idea the Syntactic Blend Hypothesis (SBH), which basically states that because children hear questions in inverted form and non-inverted form with rising intonation (as in informal speech), either form might be the basis for the child's utterance (Nakayama, 1987, p. 124). As the complexity of the utterance increases (such as a long subject NP with a relative clause), children might have trouble remembering which strategy they were going to use (i.e., normal word order with rising intonation or inversion) and would either produce a question with inversion as well as an auxiliary after the subject NP (4) or fail to produce an auxiliary at all (6).

- (6) *The girl who is holding a blue bag walking? (said with rising intonation)

This finding is important as it shows that children are influenced by the complexity of the sentences that they are trying to produce and performance errors reflect the influence of that complexity rather than merely being a misapplication of an adult rule.

If syntactic complexity affects children's production of inversion in yes/no questions, an interesting question is whether or not this phenomenon is seen in adult second language learners. Though both L1 and L2 acquisition researchers are interested in understanding how language develops, there seems to be hesitancy on the part of L2 researchers to make use of the L1 literature as a starting point for developing L2 studies. This is a shame as creating appropriate materials and tasks for studying specific syntactic phenomenon is a fairly labor intensive process. For these reasons, I chose a replication of Nakayama's L1 experiment as the basis for the current study.

2. METHOD

2.1 Participants

Nine adult ESL learners of English participated in this study. Volunteers were solicited from intermediate and advanced classes at the Hawai'i English Language Program (HELP). Because all of the participants self-selected to be in the study, it is not a true random sample nor was second language (English) proficiency strictly controlled. All of the participants were native speakers of Japanese.

2.2 Materials

The materials used in this study consisted of 34 stimulus sentences with accompanying illustrations. Two sentences were used as pretest items while the rest were used for the actual experiment. The stimulus sentences were adapted directly from Nakayama (1987) who designed them to embody more and less complex sentence structures while controlling for length. Basically, the sentences are combinations of five elements: (a) the length of the subject (short or long), (b) the length of the predicate (short or long), (c) the type of relative clause in the subject NP (subject, object, or relative clause in a passive construction), (d) the type of "extra" phrase in the subject NP (adjectival or prepositional), and (e) the type of "extra" phrase in the predicate (present participle or adjective). For example, sentence (7) below has a long subject NP, which includes a relative clause, and a short predicate with a present participle. Sentence (8) also has a relative clause in the subject NP and a present participle in the predicate, but in this sentence the subject is short and the predicate is long (it should be noted that "short" and "long" are relative rather than absolute terms). Sentence length for (7) and (8), in terms of number of words, is constant.

- (7) The mouse [who is bouncing a big ball] is walking.
- (8) The girl [who is walking] is holding a blue bag.

A detailed description of sentences can be found in the original study (Nakayama, 1987, p. 118), and the sentences for Set Two and their characteristics can be seen in Table 1. Sentences for Set One are reproduced in the Appendix.

Table 1
Stimulus sentences for Set Two

Characteristics	Prompt
AP, pres. part.	The big hungry dog is sleeping.
AP, adjective	The fat purple smurf is happy.
PP, pres. part.	The smurf on the football is drinking.
PP, adjective	The mouse at the river is awake.
SR, SS, pres. part.	The boy who is working is smiling.
SR, SS, adjective	The mouse who is eating is angry.
OR, pres. part.	The boy the girl slapped is screaming.
OR, adjective	The car the boy smashed is ugly.
PR, pres. participle	The plane that was pushed is falling.
PR, adjective	The ball that was kicked is yellow.
SL, pres. part.	The mouse who is walking is bouncing a big ball.
SL, adjective	The dog who is standing is upset with the cat.
LS, pres. part.	The girl who is throwing a cute doll is crying.
LS, adjective	The smurf who is holding a nice gift is asleep.
LL, pres. part.	The smurf who is climbing the high wall is watching the red fire.
LL, adjective	The boy who is building the tall house is happy with his gift.

Note: AP = adjective phrase, PP = prepositional phrase, SR = subject relative, OR = object relative, PR = passive relative, SS = short subject/short predicate, SL = short subject/long predicate, LL = long subject, long predicate, LS = long subject/short predicate.

Pictures were created to illustrate the meaning of each sentence. For sentences containing relative clauses (which were most of the sentences), care was taken to ensure that the relative clauses actually restricted the meaning to only one of two potential items in order to satisfy felicity requirements (Thorton, 1996, p. 85 – 86). A combination of computer graphics software, public domain clip art, and digitally scanned original drawings were used to create the illustrations. Because these illustrations were created in the computer, all of the pictures could be saved as individual files. This was advantageous as it allowed the use of experimental software to display the images one at a time on a laptop computer during the actual study. Two parallel sets of 16 sentences and illustrations were used in the study. Each participant used either Set One or Set Two, but not both. Order of presentation of the sentences was randomized for each participant using the SuperLab Pro software program (Cedrus Corporation, 1999). Identifying numbers were included in each illustration so the researcher could correctly match the appropriate stimulus sentence with the randomized pictures.

2.3 Procedure

In the original study (Nakayama, 1987), children asked questions to a stuffed toy about pictures that were visible only to the child but not to the toy partner. If the toy character answered the questions correctly, it was rewarded with a plastic frog. Although talking to stuffed animals is a rather natural phenomenon for children, it was decided that a replication of this particular task would be inappropriate for adults. The key elements of the task were that the participants should ask yes/no questions about a picture that only they could see, and that the correctness of the interlocutor's answer should be of interest to the person asking the questions. The task created for this study was engineered to maintain the key elements of the original task yet be appropriate for adult participants.

In this study, a mock ESL (extra sensory perception) experiment was used. Participants were tested in pairs and were told that the researcher was trying to find evidence of ESP in second language learners. One of the participants sat in front of a laptop computer while the other sat a few feet away in a chair facing away from the computer. The researcher instructed the first participant to ask yes/no questions about actions and characters in pictures displayed on the computer screen. Two warm up sentences, (9) and (10) below, were given to ensure that the participants understood the task and could formulate yes/no questions.

(9) The blue pig is reading.

(10) The white cat is awake.

The stimulus sentences from either Set One or Set Two were then presented one at a time. The researcher pointed out salient actions and characters in the illustrations, and then asked the participants to ask a yes/no question to be answered by the second participant. The researcher always elicited the questions using the following delivery sentence (11), following Nakayama (1987, p. 114). This type of delivery is important as it allows for control over the words to be used in the response without actually modeling the question form (12).

- (11) Ask (name) if _____.
 (12) Ask (name) if the white cat is awake.

To ask the question, the participant spoke into a microphone that was attached to a tape player, which was in turn connected to headphones worn by the second participant. The second participant (who could not see the screen) was asked to listen to the questions and indicate a yes or no answer by holding up the appropriate cardboard placard. In the mock ESP experiment, correctly answering a majority of the questions would indicate the existence of ESP¹.

3. RESULTS

A total of 144 questions were elicited from the participants. Following Nakayama, "all syntactically well-formed responses which were semantically and pragmatically suitable to the pictures" (Nakayama, 1987, p. 120) were deemed correct. Because the participants were all native speakers of Japanese, the omission of articles was not considered grounds for considering an utterance ill-formed. Additionally, utterances did not have to use all of the words in the stimulus sentence to be considered well-formed. The sentences below illustrate the original prompt (13) and an acceptable (14) and unacceptable (15) response.

- (13) Ask if the mouse who is calling the fat boy is holding a big ball.
 (14) Is the mouse calling the fat boy holding a big ball?
 (15) *Is the mouse who is calling the fat boy has a yellow ball?

Data for all of the participants was examined and it was found that one participant had asked acceptable questions for each of the prompts while a second participant had failed to produce a single correct response except for the pretest sentences. An overwhelming majority of incorrect responses for all participants were from doubling errors. Because the sentences in Set One and Set Two differed, one should ideally establish statistical equivalence before collapsing the sets for analysis. However, because the small number of participants using each set (four and five respectively) would limit generalizability anyway, it was decided that looking for general patterns in the data would yield the most useful information. For this reason, tests of statistical significance were not employed. As with any study using small sample sizes, caution should be used in interpreting the results.

Table 2 shows the number and percentage of correct and incorrect responses by type of sentence in descending order by overall correct response. Note that several categories share the same response rate. For ease of comparison, the final two columns of Table 2 show the percentage of correct and incorrect responses from Nakayama's L1 data (Nakayama, 1987, p. 120).

Table 2
Correct and incorrect responses by type

Present Study						Nakayama	
	Correct		Incorrect		Total	Correct	Incorrect
PP	13	(72.2%)	5	(27.8%)	18	84%	16%
AP	12	(66.7%)	6	(33.3%)	18	97%	3%
LS	9	(50.0%)	9	(50.0%)	18	44%	56%
PR	8	(44.4%)	10	(55.6%)	18	47%	53%
SL	8	(44.4%)	10	(55.6%)	18	66%	34%
SR/SS	7	(38.9%)	11	(61.1%)	18	66%	34%
LL	7	(38.9%)	11	(61.1%)	18	47%	53%
OR	4	(22.2%)	14	(77.8%)	18	41%	59%
Total	68	(47.2%)	76	(52.8%)	144	61%	39%

Note: AP = adjective phrase, PP = prepositional phrase, SR = subject relative, OR = object relative, PR = passive relative, SS = short subject/short predicate, SL = short subject/long predicate, LL = long subject, long predicate, LS = long subject/short predicate.

In both studies, sentences containing object relative clauses (OR) produced the lowest correct response rate. This is especially interesting because the OR sentences were among the shortest in the stimulus sets. In fact, the sentences with the highest correct response rate (AP) and the OR sentences have the same number of words. This is a good indication that sentence length by itself is not a good predictor of processing complexity.

In Nakayama's study, the length of the subject NP significantly affected the children's performance, with longer subject NPs (types LS and LL) being more likely to result in incorrect responses (Nakayama, 1987, p. 122). The data shown in Table 3 suggests that this was not the case in the present study, as the correct and incorrect rates are roughly similar.

Table 3
Correct and incorrect responses by subject length

	Present Study					Nakayama	
	Correct		Incorrect		Total	Correct	Incorrect
Long Subject (LL,LS)	16	(44.4%)	20	(56.6%)	36	46%	55%
Short Subject (SL, SS)	15	(41.7%)	21	(58.3%)	36	66%	34%

Table 4 looks at the differences between sentences with prepositional phrases (PP) and relative clauses (OR, PR, SR) in their subject NP. All of the sentences are seven words long, so length is controlled. From Table 4 it is easy to see that the presence or absence of a relative clause in the subject NP greatly affects the correct response rate, a finding also noted in the original Nakayama study. For both studies, the sentences without relative clauses (AP and PP) had the highest correct response rates and those rates were considerably higher than the other sentence types (see Table 2).

Table 4
Correct and incorrect response rates for subject NPs with PP and relative clauses

	Present Study			Nakayama ^a		
	Correct		Incorrect	Total	Correct	Incorrect
Prepositional Phrases	13	(72.2%)	5	(27.8%)	18	84% 16%
Relative Clauses	19	(35.2%)	35	(64.8%)	54	51% 49%

^aThe percentages reported in Nakayama (1987, p. 122) as PP were actually for AP sentences. The correct percentages are reported here.

As indicated in the beginning of this section, a majority of errors made were doubling errors. Of the 76 sentences that were considered ill-formed (see Table 2), 58 (76%) were doubling errors. The remaining 18 sentences (24%) were errors of other kinds. There did not seem to be any discernable pattern in the non-doubling errors. It should be noted that a full 7 of the non-doubling errors were produced by the same

participant and probably reflect a proficiency difference between that participant and the others in terms of understanding the prompts themselves. Sentences (16), (17), and (18) show some of the errors for this participant.

- (16) *Is the ball kicking the yellow?
- (17) *Is the car the boy crashing the car?
- (18) *Is the boy who talled the building with his gift?

4. DISCUSSION

This study was undertaken to replicate Nakayama (1987). Though the research design was changed to make it more appropriate for adult language learners, the results do seem to mirror those of the original study. This lends support to the idea that language learners (both first and second) are sensitive to sentence structure and that increasing structural complexity can result in performance errors. That the sentences with object relative clauses in their subject NP were more difficult than those with subject relative clauses echoes other studies in the L2 literature (e.g. Clark, 2000; Wolfe-Quintero, 1992, 1998) as well as studies of typological markedness (e.g. Keenan & Comrie, 1977; Pavesi, 1986).

There is a bit of a difficulty in determining to what extent second language instruction affected the participants' performance. All of the participants had at least six years of formal instruction in English, and during the task at least two people appeared to be formulating responses internally before responding verbally. Although it is impossible to do more than speculate, at least one of the non-doubling errors produced show what could be explained by Nakayama's Syntactic Blends Hypothesis filtered through instructed L2 knowledge.

- (19) *Is the woman who is walking has a blue bag?

In this sentence, (19), the blend of a statement with rising intonation (*The woman who is walking has a blue bag?*) or an alternative question form with an L2 error in verb morphology (*Does the woman who is walking have a blue bag?*) might explain the source of the error.

There also seems to have been a slight method effect for some of the participants. Because a large majority of the stimulus sentences included relative clauses, several participants added relative clauses to stimulus sentences that did not originally have them, creating responses such as in (20), which originally contained only a prepositional phrase.

- (20) *Is the boy who is in the kitchen is sleeping?

Not all participants who made this kind of relative clause insertion produced incorrect responses, however.

It might be tempting to claim that the results show nothing more than variation in the participants' ability to memorize the prompts. This is not consistent with the data, however, as it would imply that the shorter sentences should be uniformly produced more correctly than the longer ones, which was not the case. In addition, one of the subjects managed to keep track of the number of questions she had asked and prefaced each of her questions with a number (i.e., "Number six. Is the fat purple smurf happy?"). Because this was not part of the task and the only numbers on the illustrations themselves were randomized (and rather cryptic) reference numbers, this anecdotally shows a rather prodigious memory. This participant, however, only had correct responses approximately half of the time.

It is unclear how second language proficiency influenced the results. Although all of the students were considered high intermediate or advanced (and were, in fact, taking most of the same classes in the language program), there did seem to be some differences in ability. Though no measure of L2 proficiency was used, some subjective impressions by the researcher were that listening ability differed among the participants as well as vocabulary knowledge. In terms of listening ability, some of the participants required the prompt to be repeated several times before they felt comfortable enough to ask the question. It would be possible to alter the methodology slightly and give the participants the prompt in written form to avoid having listening ability as a confounding variable, but this would probably artificially increase the number of doubling errors as participants

might be tempted to merely read the prompt. For vocabulary, the word "slapped" in one of the prompts seemed to be unknown to one or two of the participants. (The meaning should have been clear from the illustration, however.) Finally, because of the age of the participants and the date of the original study, the "Smurf" characters used in many of the illustrations were unknown to almost all of the participants, though this problem was solved by pre-teaching *smurf* as a lexical item. Future replications of this study might do well to change the character.

5. CONCLUSION

The data in this study suggest that second language learners' production of inversion in yes/no questions is influenced by the complexity of the sentences and especially the presence of object relatives in the subject NP. As with child learners of English, increasing complexity leads to an increase of doubling errors in production. This study also shows that experiments originally used for first language acquisition research can be modified for use with adult second language learners and that one advantage of this approach is that results from L2 studies can be directly compared with the corresponding L1 studies. Researchers interested in the question of similarities between L1 and L2 acquisition might find this approach especially useful.

Several shortcomings of this current project might be addressed in future research using the same task or a similar task. To this end, I close with several suggestions:

1. A replication of the task with a larger N-size. This might result in more differentiation in correct response rate between the different stimulus sentence types. It would also allow the use of statistical tests of significance.
2. A replication with learners from a different L1 background, including speakers of languages that employ inversion.
3. Rewriting the stimulus sentences to be more appropriate for second language learners. This might entail using only high frequency vocabulary items.
4. Using some proficiency measure to group participants according to second language proficiency.
5. Testing the same participants on different stimulus sentences after an interval of several months to get longitudinal data.

NOTES

1. Unfortunately, evidence of ESP was not found in this study.

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Appendix

Stimulus sentences for Set One

Characteristics	Prompt
AP, pres. part.	The big hungry dog is sleeping.
AP, adjective	The fat purple smurf is happy.
PP, pres. part.	The boy in the kitchen is sleeping.
PP, adjective	The girl with the necklace is pretty.
SR, SS, pres. part.	The girl who is sitting is eating.
SR, SS, adjective	The smurf who is drinking is happy.
OR, pres. part.	The plane the cat pushed is falling.
OR, adjective	The ball the smurf kicked is yellow.
PR, pres. Participle	The boy who was slapped is screaming.
PR, adjective	The car that was smashed is ugly.
SL, pres. part.	The girl who is walking is holding a blue bag.
SL, adjective	The girl who is crying is tired of her dolls.
LS, pres. part.	The mouse who is bouncing a big ball is walking.
LS, adjective	The boy who is watching a small cat is upset.
LL, pres. part.	The mouse who is calling the fat boy is holding a big ball.
LL, adjective	The girl who is reading the black book is afraid of the ghost.

Note: AP = adjective phrase, PP = prepositional phrase, SR = subject relative, OR = object relative, PR = passive relative, SS = short subject/short predicate, SL = short subject/long predicate, LL = long subject, long predicate.

PRAGMATIC TRANSFER WITH REGARD TO RESIDENCE ABROAD: A PILOT STUDY

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ABSTRACT

Refusals as face-threatening speech acts have received a considerable amount of attention as a research target. Most research, however, has been conducted on non-native speakers' (NNS) production, and very few studies have been conducted to investigate NNSs' perceptions of refusals in the target language. Also, while there has been a considerable amount of research on proficiency levels, there have not been conclusive studies conducted considering the length of residence in the target language environment to measure pragmatic ability and the degree of language transfer from the learners' L1.

In this study, the researchers explored transfer from the learners' first language, Japanese, in their perceptions of pragmatic speech acts of refusals with respect to their length of residence in the target language environment. The researchers designed discourse rating-scales by modifying existing discourse completion tasks (DCTs) and by using elicited oral responses from native speakers of English. Data were collected from three different groups: Japanese native speakers living in Japan, Japanese learners of English living in the US, and American English native speakers. The data were then analyzed for the effects of transfer.

This study revealed evidence for the pragmatic transfer of refusal strategies with respect to length of residence in a target language environment and indicates that length of residence does mitigate negative transfer of refusal strategies among Japanese learners of English.

The process and results with methodological perspectives will be presented.

1. INTRODUCTION

Pragmatic competence represents one of the most challenging skills for learners of second languages to acquire. Learners of second languages often are not completely successful in interacting with native speakers, not because of grammatical difficulties, for example, but rather due to an inability to use pragmatic speech acts correctly (House, 1993). Thomas (1983) associates cross-cultural problems encountered by non-native speakers with their inability to successfully perform pragmatic speech acts that lead to misunderstandings. These misunderstandings are derived from non-native speakers' inadequate use of the sociolinguistic conventions and values of the target language culture, which Thomas refers to as "sociopragmatic failure" (p. 91). Takahashi and Beebe (1987) also demonstrate pragmatic transfer, which is defined as "transfer of first language (L1) sociocultural communicative competence in performing L2 speech acts" (134), does exist in learners' interlanguages and show evidence that transfer can lead to sociopragmatic failure. Beebe, Takahashi, and Uliss-Weltz (1990), for example, show that there is a clear difference between the ways non-native speakers express refusals with regard to the order of components (e.g., expressions of regret or excuses), interlocutors' social states, etc... and native speakers usage. At its most innocuous, sociopragmatic failure creates situations where one or both participants in an exchange lose face and an awkward moment is experienced. At its worst, sociopragmatic failure can result in an extreme breakdown of communication that can lead not only to loss of face but also to more distressing events such as a breaking of the relationship. The acquisition of pragmatic competence and the reduction of negative transfer from the L1 among learners of second languages, therefore, should be a goal of both students and teachers alike.

For the purpose of this study, we will focus on the pragmatic speech act of refusals. Specifically we will look at the perceptions Japanese learners of English have regarding refusals to requests, offers, invitations, and suggestions of native speakers of American English. We intend to research the effects of length of residence in a target language (TL) environment has on negative transfer from the L1 while controlling for the various proficiency levels of the study participants.

2. BACKGROUND

Refusals are one of the speech acts that are face threatening and have received a considerable amount of

attention as a research target. The ability to politely refuse a request, invitation, etc... while allowing both the interlocutor and the speaker to "save face" requires understanding and manipulating a large amount of socially and culturally sensitive information. (Takahashi and Beebe, 1993). The inability to refuse an interlocutors' request, invitation, etc... appropriately might lead non-native speakers to offend their interlocutors without intending to do so. The factors that underlie the inadequate use of refusal patterns seem to arise from cross-cultural differences in refusal patterns (Beebe and Takahashi, 1987).

Different researchers have conducted studies on interlanguage refusals through different methodologies. Beebe and Takahashi (1987) and Beebe et al. (1990) investigated refusals of Japanese learners of English and American English native speakers through discourse completion tasks (DCT) to investigate differences in language production and the extent of L1 pragmatic transfer. Liao and Bresnahan (1996) looked at refusals of Mandarin speakers and American English speakers, also through the DCT followed by 7-point likert-scale questions to 1) understand the similarities and differences between American and the Chinese culture and 2) investigate what initiated the learners' production in the DCT. Robinson (1992) investigated refusals of Japanese ESL learners, combining the introspective method and a DCT. The introspection method acts as a means of examining language process and providing information about language "learners' subjective theories about language and learning" (p. 31). Hence, she applied the methodology to look more closely at the process of learners' production instead of relying solely on DCT data.

All of the above studies looked at the differences of language production of non-native speakers and native speakers of English. Interestingly, however, we can find no study that has been conducted to investigate non-native speakers' perceptions of refusals in the target language. Carrel and Konneker (1981) and Tanaka and Kawade (1982) did examine non-native speakers' perception of requests, and they demonstrated that there were differences between non-native speakers' and native speakers' perceptions, and that non-native speakers tend to choose less polite strategies overall. Some other recent studies on non-native speakers' perceptions looked at requests, apologies, etc... (e.g., Olshtain & Blum-Kulka 1985, Maeshiba et al, 1996). Thomas (1983) also notes that pragmatic failure is not simply limited to non-native speakers' interaction with native speakers. Simply looking at differences of production between non-native and native speakers does not inform us which of those differences may matter in interaction (Kasper & Schmidt, 1996). Therefore, it is important to investigate not only the differences between non-native and native speakers, but also how the perceptions of NNS are influencing their production and, indeed, reception.

With respect to studies done on pragmatic transfer of refusals and Japanese learners of English, Beebe and Takahashi (1987) and Beebe et al. (1990) have provided the most extensive findings in the area so far. While far from conclusive and in need of some methodological improvement, both of these studies offer preliminary findings to show that there is pragmatic transfer among Japanese learners of English with regard to refusals.

Within their first study, Beebe and Takahashi (1987) compare native speakers of American English with Japanese learners of English in both EFL and ESL contexts. The subjects were then divided into two proficiency levels, low and high, based on either undergraduate or graduate standing. Interestingly, their findings indicate that a significant difference in proficiency levels did not exist in the EFL context, thus compromising the strength of the claims for this group, but that one did exist in the ESL context. The subjects were then required to complete a DCT designed to elicit refusals. The data were then coded and analyzed to test their hypotheses.

Of their hypotheses, the most interesting and problematic one was that they believed there would be more pragmatic transfer among the subjects with a higher proficiency in English than among the lower proficiency subjects. They took this point of view, which is opposite from the normally assumed pattern of transfer (i.e., more transfer among lower proficiency learners), based on their reasoning that lower proficiency level students do not have the fluency with which to negatively transfer their Japanese pragmatic skills. According to Beebe and Takahashi (1990), "higher proficiency learners who already have a certain fluency...will more often fall prey to transfer" (p. 137). To complete their model of pragmatic transfer they posit the belief that once learners begin to reach a sufficiently high level approaching native-like competence, they will again lessen the effects of transfer, thus moving along a negatively skewed learning bell curve. Unfortunately, their data did not corroborate their hypothesis. Maeshiba et al. (1995) found evidence contradicting Beebe and Takahashi (1987), thus adding more uncertainty to when and to what extent pragmatic transfer occurs.

In her study on request strategies, S. Takahashi (1996) concludes that her subjects did not achieve native-like strategies, regardless of proficiency. This is important when considering differing proficiency levels with regard to length of residence in the target language environment, in that the question of whether transfer is lessened among learners with a longer length of residence in the TL environment is left unanswered. Beebe and Takahashi (1987) and Beebe et al. (1990) do not look at this factor as possibly affecting their data.

The other of Beebe and T. Takahashi's (1987) hypotheses to note was that there would be more pragmatic transfer in the EFL context than in the ESL context. They conclude, "native language influence is generally stronger in the EFL context" (p. 152). Of interest is that they find "the greater amount of transfer in the EFL context cannot be explained away as a function of lower proficiency" (p. 148) because based on their "overall impression" the group of Japanese learners in the ESL situation were of a lower proficiency level than their EFL counterparts. As stated before, however, Beebe and T. Takahashi were not comfortable drawing conclusions based on proficiency within the EFL group.

Beebe et al. (1990) focus more on what the actual content of transfer is, rather than on where and at what level the transfer will occur, although these factors are still considered. The main conclusions of this study with regard to Japanese learners of English living in the US are that pragmatic transfer is evident with regard to semantic formulas used (e.g., statement of regret or excuse/explanation) in their order within the refusal, their frequency, and their intrinsic content, or "tone". Beebe et al. admit that these findings are only preliminary due to several factors, which shall be discussed below. Still, both of these studies indicate that pragmatic transfer of refusals among Japanese learners of English living in the US exists, and that more studies need to be done in order to examine and identify the exact nature of that transfer.

In our search of the literature Nakajima (1997) comes the closest to addressing the relationship between pragmatic transfer and length of residence in a target language environment. Her study considered pragmatic transfer among young Japanese businessmen with regard to general politeness strategies (i.e., refusals, giving embarrassing information, and disagreement among different level interlocutors). Using DCTs and questionnaires, Nakajima obtained data from 22 respondents, including baseline data of Japanese workers speaking Japanese in Japan and American workers speaking English in America. While she does divide her subjects into three groups of average residency (4 months, 1.8 years, and 4 years), the lowest level group according to residency was living in Japan at the time and few details of their experiences are given to differentiate them from the baseline group other than they answered the DCT and questionnaire in English. Also problematic is that Nakajima's N size for the group residing abroad for an average of 4 years was 2. And even though she does conclude that "living experience in the target culture helps learners to acquire target-like pragmatics" (p. 64), she does not analyze any of the differences in pragmatic transfer between the two groups of differing residency (1.8 years and 4 years). Rather, she treats them as one group to exhibit evidence of the lessening of transfer as a result of living in a target language environment as opposed to the subjects who were using English in Japan. She also made neither mention of nor control for the relative proficiency levels of her subjects.

3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

As stated above, while there have been considerable amount of research on proficiency levels, there have not been conclusive studies conducted considering the length of residence in the target language environment to measure the pragmatic ability and the degree of language transfer from the learners' L1 (see Beebe, et al., 1990; Maeshiba, et al., 1995). Also, although studies have demonstrated that there is a clear pragmatic transfer from the learners' native language (e.g., Takahashi and Beebe, 1990), proficiency level is not a sufficient factor that explains the learners' pragmatic ability in the target language. Key to this study is our belief that the length of residence within an ESL environment will mitigate the effects of negative pragmatic transfer with regard to learners' perceptions of the appropriateness of native speakers' refusals. We believe that prolonged exposure to native speech will lead to a more rapid acquisition of pragmatic speech acts.

Thus our research question for the present study is the following: How does length of residence in a target language environment enable Japanese learners of English living in the US to more adequately perceive native-like refusals?

4. METHODOLOGY

4-1. Participants

We collected data from three different groups, with a total of 48 subjects. The participants were as follows: five Japanese native speakers (JNS) living in Japan, 36 Japanese learners of English (JESL) living in the U.S., and seven American English native speakers (ANS). The JESLs' were either undergraduate or graduate university students at the University of Hawaii at Manoa or were students studying at intensive English language programs attached to the university. Their English proficiency levels, which were measured by their most recent TOEFL scores, their course levels and the participants' self-evaluations about their oral, reading, and writing skills, ranged from intermediate to advanced.

The JESL participants' lengths of residence varied from 2 months to 11 years and 6 months. We divided the JESLs into three different groups of relatively equal size in accordance with their length of residence in the United States. We eliminated the middle group and used the data from the other two groups: those whose length residences were relatively short (2 months to 6 months) and those whose lengths of residence were relatively long (2 or more years).

4-2. Data Collection Instrument

In order to develop the instrument, the researchers modified the discourse completion tasks (DCT) used in Beebe, Takahashi, and Ullis-Weltz (1990). First, one of the researchers elicited and recorded oral responses from native speakers of English through role-plays. The word "refusal" was not used in collecting this data in order to avoid biasing the respondents' positively or negatively toward the role-plays. Second, these data were then used to form the responses for the instrument. Finally, the instrument was piloted with one Japanese native speaker and two American English native speakers and modified based on their feedback.

The data collection instrument (See Appendix) consisted of questions about the participants' background, including their proficiency levels, length of residence and so forth, and ten different situations with two refusal responses for each. Those ten situations included the following: three requests, three invitations, three offers and one suggestion. A rating scale of 0 (completely inappropriate) to 7 (completely appropriate) followed each response. Participants were asked to circle how appropriate they believed each response to be. We provided the data collection instrument in English to the JESL and ANS participants.

One of the researchers, who is bilingual in English and Japanese, then translated the instrument and provided them to the JNS participants living in Japan. The translated instrument was proofread by another Japanese native speaker majoring in English as a Second Language to make sure the intent of the situations remained the same as in the English version. This Japanese version was then provided to the JNS participants and received back from them via email.

4-3. Procedure

The researchers first gave the participants instructions, both written and oral, on how to complete the instrument and also gave them the chance to ask any questions. Examples were also given to make certain the participants clearly understood the procedure. The participants were then asked to fill out the questionnaire on their own and return it to the researchers at their convenience. Informed consent was obtained by signing a standard consent form attached to the questionnaire. This was done along with the oral instructions and was signed in the presence of the researchers so any questions could be clarified.

4-4. Data analysis

As previously stated, in order to analyze the data according to length of residency, we divided the JESL subjects into thirds. We discarded the middle group, leaving us with one group of subjects with relatively short lengths of residency (2-6 months with an average of 4.17 months) and one group of subjects with relatively long lengths of residency (24-138 months with an average of 58.91 months). We divided the participants into these groups so there would be a clear dichotomy in their lengths of residence, which would facilitate being able to observe transfer.

Data from JNSs and ANSs were used as baselines to measure whether or not transfer from their first language to the target language existed. For all four groups (JNS, JESL (short), JESL (long), and ANS) we calculated the mean and standard deviations of each response. We compared the scores and looked for patterns whereby the mean average of responses of JESL subjects would fall between the baseline data of the JNS and ANS speakers. We also compared the results between the two groups of JESL subjects to look for evidence of one group or the other performing more closely to the ANS group.

5. RESULTS

Through this pilot study we found preliminary evidence supporting pragmatic transfer from Japanese into English with regard to length of residence in the target language environment. In chart 1 we have listed the following information: column 1 is the response number corresponding to the data collection instrument; column 2 is the type of situation on the instrument; column 3 is the status of the "requestor" and the "refuser" ("L" means the requestor has lower status than the refuser, "E" means they are equal in status, and "H" means the requestor has higher status than the refuser); columns 4, 5, 6, and 7 represent the mean responses of the four different groups of participants; and column 8 represents the type of transfer present (N/A is "not applicable"; 1 is JNS<ESL<ANS; 2 is JNS>ESL>ANS). In some situations, like responses 5A and 5B, one of the ESL groups exhibited transfer, but not the other, which is why two results are listed.

Chart 1

Response	Situation	Status	JNS	ESL(short)	ESL(long)	ANS	Transfer
1A	Request	L	3.60	6.08	5.67	5.43	N/A
1B			5.00	2.46	3.92	6.00	N/A
2A	Request	E	5.00	6.15	6.33	6.43	1
2B			5.40	4.23	4.75	5.43	N/A
3A	Offer	E	2.80	4.62	6.08	6.14	1
3B			6.00	5.08	3.92	6.86	N/A
4A	Invitation	L	3.60	5.00	6.42	6.00	1
4B			4.40	5.33	5.08	6.14	1
5A	Request	L	3.40	5.33	4.58	5.29	N/A-1
5B			5.00	5.92	6.25	6.00	1-N/A
6A	Offer	E	7.00	4.92	6.17	6.86	N/A
6B			2.00	3.62	2.75	5.00	1
7A	Suggestion	H	1.80	4.08	4.42	4.43	1
7B			5.60	3.92	2.00	4.71	N/A
8A	Invitation	E	2.40	6.46	6.25	6.29	N/A-1
8B			6.40	5.92	5.92	5.43	2
9A	Offer	H	1.40	4.15	5.17	6.00	1
9B			5.00	4.77	3.50	5.43	N/A
10A	Invitation	H	6.40	3.92	3.50	5.14	N/A
10B			6.00	6.00	5.36	6.00	N/A

As can be seen in the chart above transfer as we have defined it is present in 8 out of 10 situations (numbers 1 and 10 being the exceptions) and in 11 out of 20 responses. Transfer was also evident in all four types of situations and with each different status combination of "requestor" and "refuser," although it should be noted that the data collection instrument would have had to have been much longer if we were to have each type of situation with each type of status interaction. As it was, the instrument already took JESL participants 30-45 minutes to complete and we worried that if we extended it they either would not participate or they might hurry through it, thus negatively affecting the data.

Overall, ESL subjects with longer lengths of residence performed with more native-like competence than either the JNS or ESL (short) groups. Unfortunately, we did not have enough time to gather more subjects so

that we could more closely control for proficiency. As will be discussed below, the JESL (short) group tended to also have lower proficiencies than the JESL (long) group. Therefore, we cannot authoritatively state whether the transfer we observed was due to length of residency or proficiency.

Finally, in some contexts, such as responses 1A and 8A, the JESL (short) group had a mean score, which was greater than any of the other groups including the ANS group. This information is problematic in several regards, which will be discussed in the next section. Still, the preliminary results do point to a positive connection between pragmatic transfer of refusals and length of residence abroad.

6. DISCUSSION

As stated above, we found evidence for the existence of transfer from the participants' first language. Overall, JESLs with relatively long lengths of residence have closer perception to native speakers in terms of judging the appropriateness of refusals. However, one of the problems in drawing this conclusion is that positive correlation between the lengths of residence and participants' proficiency levels. Although we tried to elicit responses from those who were in similar proficiency levels with different lengths of residence, most of the participants with relatively short length of residence were also those with relatively low proficiency levels, and vice-versa. We calculated the correlation between lengths of residence and proficiency levels with Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient. Although the relationship was moderate, the correlation was statistically significant between these two variables ($r=.46$, $p<.05$, $n=25$). Hence, although we could find transfer from the participants' first language, we could not find whether the factor that lies behind the transfer is length of residence or proficiency levels.

Also, we found some contexts in which JESLs (short) rated the responses higher than the JESLs (long), showing closer perception with the ANSs. For example, in 6B, JESLs (short) rated the response with an average of 3.62 while the JESLs (long) rated the response with an average of 2.75. One possible explanation for this particular instance has to do with the semantic nature of the response itself. After we provided the instrument, some participants in higher proficiency levels asked about the meaning of the specific phrase "I know you are good for it," saying that they did not quite understand what it meant. After finishing the instrument several JNSs also questioned the corresponding phrase in Japanese. Hence, we can have evidence that JNSs in fact feel that this particular phrase makes the response inappropriate. JESLs (short) include many of those participants who have lower proficiency levels, and we suspect that they might not have understood the phrase completely. The difference between those two JESL groups, therefore, can come from a different level of understanding the content of the response. We could assume that the participants with longer length of residence, which include more higher proficiency learners, understood the content of the response correctly, resulting the closer judgments to JNSs.

In 8A, again, participants with shorter residence rated the response higher (mean 6.46) than those with longer residence (mean 6.25). The difference here was slight, and in addition, in this case, a higher rating does not necessarily mean that they were rating more closely to the ANSs (mean 6.29). Although the JESL (short) group rated higher, they exceed the response mean of the ANSs, which means that their perception does not necessarily represent appropriateness as compared with ANSs. In this case, JESLs with longer residences have closer rating judgments to those of ANSs. The differences in both JESL groups and the ANS group are so small, however, as to make any definitive judgment difficult.

7. LIMITATIONS

Several problems and limitations were encountered during the execution of this pilot study. These fell into two main areas: problems dealing with the participants and problems dealing with the data collection instrument. Given more time, the problems and limitations can be controlled for in future studies.

First, the major problem we encountered was controlling for various proficiency levels across their lengths of residence in the target language environment. The participants we had for this study tended to correlate their length of residence with their proficiency levels. We had hoped to find, for example, participants who were relatively low in proficiency but with long lengths of residence so we could compare them with the higher proficiency participants with short lengths of residence.

Another limitation we had was our small N size. Due to that small N size, the standard deviation among the respondents was quite large, and it weakens the applicability and the generalizability of the data. Particularly problematic was the small N sizes of the JNS and ANS groups. Obviously, we would feel much more confident about the baseline data with a larger N size.

Another limitation was in the design of the research instrument. Since we used natural responses from American English native speakers to write the responses, they tended to be one-sided and the transfer patterns were not balanced. We were mainly looking for transfer in two different patterns: 1) responses that are appropriate to JNSs but not to ANSs, and 2) responses that are appropriate to ANSs but not to JNSs. However, as stated, since the responses were elicited through role-plays with American native speakers, they were biased toward the favorable responses for ANSs, and what we found was almost all pattern 1. More "tweaking" should be done in future studies to maintain "natural" oral responses, yet elicit more concrete examples of transfer.

Finally, there may have been some difficulties in participants understanding the language on the instrument itself. As was pointed out previously, participants were openly confused by at least one response. This was the only one we knew about, but it is reasonable to conclude there were more, especially among the lower proficiency levels. Possibilities for future studies might include actually acting out role-plays with participants, recording them, and analyzing them not only for transfer, but also for understanding by the participants.

8. CONCLUSION

Through this study we found preliminary evidence for the pragmatic transfer of refusal strategies with respect to length of residence in a target language environment among Japanese learners of English. We found evidence in four different situations, namely requests, offers, invitations, and suggestions. The study also shows transfer in situations where the requestor and the refuser are of different or equal status.

Our study's results are only preliminary in that we cannot clearly rule out the effects of proficiency on the data. While we do feel there is a strong indication that length of residence does mitigate negative transfer of refusal strategies among Japanese learners of English, refinements in participant selection and data collection will be necessary to more fully find generalizable results.

APPENDIX

Data collection instrument (Examples)

1. Situation: You are the owner of a music store that is financially stable, but not extremely profitable. One of your best workers asks to speak to you in private.

Worker: As you know, I've been here just a little over a year now, and I know you've been pleased with my work. I really enjoy working here, but to be quite honest, I really need an increase in pay.

Response 1: I see, well, let me get back to you on that. Can you give me some justification of why you might need this raise?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Response 2: I don't know. I guess I'd have to look at our books and see if we can financially support that.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3. Situation: You are at a friend's house for lunch.

Friend: How about another piece of cake?

Response 1: It was really good thanks, but um, I'm trying to watch my weight.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Response 2: No thank you. I couldn't eat another bite.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

7. Situation: You are at the office in a meeting with your boss. It is getting close to the end of the day and you have promised to have dinner with your family.

Boss: We really have to finish this up tonight. Why don't you go order some pizza, it looks like we're going to be here for a few more hours.

Response 1: You know, do we really have to finish this up tonight, or do you think we could finish it tomorrow morning? Because, um, I hadn't planned on being here much later and my wife and kids are waiting for me to come meet them tonight. I mean if we have to, ok, but you hadn't mentioned it, that there was a deadline for tomorrow, so if we could maybe finish it tomorrow morning, I'd be happy to put the work in then.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Response 2: Uh, tell you what, I could give you about thirty more minutes, but after that I've really gotta get home.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

10. Situation: You are a top executive at a very large accounting firm. You also have tentative plans for this weekend. One day the boss calls you into her office.

Boss: Next Saturday my husband and I are having a little party. I know it's short notice, but I am hoping all my top executives will be there with their spouses. What do you say?

Response 1: I'm sorry. I already have plans for the weekend.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Response 2: You know I'd really love to, but I actually have plans for this weekend.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

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CAN LEARNERS ATTEND TO FORM AND CONTENT SIMULTANEOUSLY WHILE PROCESSING INPUT?

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ABSTRACT

While the role of input in second language acquisition (henceforth SLA) has gained undeniable status, one of the more fundamental and also controversial questions that occupy SLA researchers is how learners get intake from input. Although many factors must be involved in the question of defining what is the necessary and sufficient condition for input to become intake, a debate over the role of consciousness has been one of the most heated controversies in SLA research to date. Do learners have to consciously attend to linguistic features to acquire them?

Outlining two different positions on the role of consciousness in SLA, this study purposes to explore the question of whether learners can attend to form and meaning simultaneously when they process input, replicating VanPatten's (1990). Learners, randomly assigned to four different groups, were asked to process information under four different conditions: processing input only for content, processing input for content and simultaneously noting the key lexical item, processing input for content and simultaneously noting the definite article *the*, and processing input for content and simultaneously noting the 3rd person singular morpheme *-s*.

Results confirm VanPatten's (1990) study suggesting that it is hard for second language learners to pay attention to non-communicative grammatico-morphological forms while processing input for meaning. Based on the previous discussion on the role of consciousness in second language acquisition, this study is presented as supporting evidence for the need of pedagogical intervention such as consciousness-raising (Sharwood-Smith, 1981), and focus on form (Long, 1991).

Introduction

The importance of input in second language acquisition (henceforth SLA) has become a classic view among the researchers in this field. However, a more fundamental and also controversial question that has occupied SLA researchers is how learners get intake from input. It is widely accepted that not all of input becomes intake, which is defined as the subset of input that is taken in by learners and become available for further mental processing. (Corder, 1982).

Although, a variety of factors must be involved in the question of defining what is the necessary and sufficient condition for SLA to take place, a debate over the role of consciousness has been one of the most heated controversies in SLA research to date. Do learners have to consciously attend to linguistic features to acquire them?

The Role of Consciousness in SLA

Clearly influenced by the Chomskyan tradition, which assumes the existence of an innate Language Acquisition Device (LAD) or UG as one of the significant factors to explain language acquisition¹, early SLA theory did not place much emphasis on learners' conscious effort or attention. One strong proponent of this line is Krashen (1982, 1985). He suggested a clear distinction between *acquisition* and *learning*. According to Krashen, acquisition refers to the subconscious process achieved as a byproduct of focus on meaning, while learning is a conscious process that is of little use in actual language comprehension and production. Krashen maintained that providing comprehensible input and lowering a learner's affective filter is the necessary and sufficient condition for acquisition to take place. Much emphasis is placed on passive exposure to comprehensible input in communicative use rather than conscious processing on the part of learners. By not allowing for the interface between learning and acquisition, and by relegating the role of learning to such limited functions as editing or monitoring what the learner has produced, the role of consciousness on the learner's part has been regarded as peripheral in Krashen's model.

On the other hand, Schmidt (1990, 1993, 1995, in press) has consistently argued for the central role of consciousness in second language learning. Based on empirical evidence, such as his own diary study (Schmidt & Frota, 1986) and a longitudinal case study of a Japanese learner of English (Schmidt, 1983), Schmidt argued strongly that incidental learning, which is achieved through exposure to language input without learner intention and noticing, is insufficient for adult SLA. Pointing out the ambiguities of the terms *conscious* and *unconscious* in examining the role of consciousness in input processing, he divided the question into three different issues: subliminal learning (as opposed to learning with attention and noticing), incidental learning (as opposed to intentional learning), and implicit learning (as opposed to explicit learning).

Regarding the first issue, Schmidt (1990) denies any possibility for the existence of subliminal learning. He claims that attention and its subjective correlate, noticing, are necessary and sufficient conditions for the conversion of input to intake. Schmidt (1995) examines the issue of subliminal learning as divided into two different sections: attention and noticing. This was done in order to respond critically to Tomlin & Villa's (1994) claim that detection can be dissociated from awareness of what is attended to, and that detection (not awareness) is what is important for SLA. Attention is defined as one of the basic mechanisms in an information-processing system, while noticing, as a technical term, is interpreted as a subjective experience of the learner when he or she pays attention to something, which thus can be phrased as "phenomenological mind". The absolute necessity of attention in SLA is explained in terms of psychological perspective, particularly its crucial role in encoding a stimulus into long-term memory. As for noticing, Schmidt critically reviews evidence which seems to provide support for learning without awareness at the level of noticing and successfully disproves why this evidence cannot be relevant for supporting the idea of learning without noticing.

Concerning the second issue, incidental learning, while Schmidt agrees that there can be learning without intention, he does not fail to mention that deliberate attention may be necessary if adult learners are to acquire less salient or redundant aspects of L2 grammatical forms. Therefore, instructional practices intended to draw learners' attention to forms, which are less likely to be attended to on learners' own, are said to have solid justification.

The implicit learning issue, which has been pointed out as the most difficult one to resolve by Schmidt (1990), involves "understanding," which has been used as a technical term referring to a deeper level of abstraction related to semantic, syntactic, or communicative meaning. This question can be paraphrased as whether there can be unconscious induction and abstraction. In his later publication (1993, 1995), while admitting that evidence has been somewhat mixed, Schmidt seems to conclude that noticing is sufficient for learning (not understanding) but still emphasizes the benefit of "understanding," or explicit learning, in language learning. At the same time, he indicates that where abstraction without awareness seems to take place, this is achieved through "simple associative learning applied to a rich memory base rather than the unconscious induction of abstract rules" (1995 p. 29).

Simultaneous Attention to Form and Content: Allocation of Limited Attentional Resources

As reviewed above, the central role of conscious attention, or noticing, in SLA has been proved by empirical evidence from psychology and applied linguistics (see Schmidt 1993, 1995, for specific evidence). This leads us to the next step in addressing our question. A cognitive psychological explanation of language learning says that language learning occurs when mapping between form, meaning, and use takes place. This can be realized by directing learners' attention to form briefly and incidentally, not interrupting the stream of communication when primary focus is on meaning (Doughty, 2001). However, according to the classic view in psychology, one of the primary characteristics of attention is known to be its limited capacity (Broadbent, 1958; Kahneman, 1973). Therefore, the question that arises is whether simultaneous processing of meaning and form is possible for second language learners, and if so, what kind of form and under what conditions this is possible (VanPatten, 1992, 1994). Van Patten hypothesizes that a) when engaged in communicative exchanges, learners process input for meaning before anything else, that is, the processing priority would be given to meaning prior to form, lexical items prior to grammatical items, more meaningful morphology prior to less meaningful morphology; and b) in order for learners to process form that is not meaningful, informational content should be able to be processed at little or no cost to attentional resources. That is, simultaneous processing of meaning and form is only possible when comprehension as a skill is automatized, thus releasing attention for focus on form.

This issue is not only theoretically important, but also has significant pedagogical implications. However, the actual amount of research that has investigated this issue from an SLA perspective is scanty considering the importance of its implications. Much of the evidence cited in literature is laboratory studies conducted in cognitive psychology, dealing with certain patterns of visual stimuli or some kind of patterns of letters or numbers, such as finite grammar or MAG (miniature artificial grammar). Even evidence from psycholinguistic speech error analysis and experimentation (Doughty, 2001), though it deals with natural language, should be used with some caution since the data are basically obtained from naturally occurring native-speaker speech errors. The cognitive load required for L1 communication is obviously quite different from that for L2 communication.

VanPatten's (1990) study² is one of the rare examples that has explored the issue of allocation of attentional resources to both form and content of input, directly dealing with second language learners' input processing. In this study, he tested the performance of English learners of three levels of Spanish who were assigned to four different groups and asked to process information under four different conditions. Task I, which constituted the control group, was listening to a passage only for content. Task II was listening to the passage for content and simultaneously noting the key lexical item, *inflacion*. Task III was listening to the passage for content and simultaneously noting the definite article, *la*. Task IV was listening for content and simultaneously noting the verb morpheme *-n*. The frequency of the occurrence of each item in the passage was controlled. To operationalize attention to each form, subjects were asked to make a hash mark each time they heard the item. The subjects' comprehension was assessed by free written recalls in English, their first language. The results of the study showed that conscious attention to form (particularly in the case of less meaningful morpho-syntactic forms) in the input competes with conscious attention to meaning, and thus only when input is easily understood can learners attend to form as part of the intake process.

The Present Study

Recognizing this issue's significant implications both in terms of theory and pedagogy, and the lack of research in this area, the present study set out to replicate VanPatten's study (1990) with some modifications. Although VanPatten's study included comparing task performance by learners' proficiency level, the present study focused only on the comparison of learner performance under different input processing conditions. Thus, the research questions, which guided this study followed those of VanPatten's (1990) with small revision:

- 1) Learners will have more difficulty in noticing communicatively non-salient forms, such as definite articles and verbal ending morphemes, than the key lexical item, *caffeine*.
- 2) If learners have difficulty in directing attention toward both content and form, then a task involving conscious attention to non-communicative grammatico-morphological forms in the input will negatively affect comprehension of input.
- 3) If these same learners are (basically) going for meaning first, a task involving conscious attention to important lexical items will not affect comprehension of content.

Method

Subjects

Twenty advanced Korean learners of English were assigned to each of the four groups. The standard for "advanced" level was a minimum TOFEL score of 600. Since free written recalls were adopted as a way of assessing participants' comprehension, the participants' L1 background was controlled, as Korean. Most of the participants were graduate students in the Second Language Studies and Linguistic Department at University of Hawai'i.

Design and Procedure

The listening passage for this study was that used by Urano (1998) in his replication study of VanPatten (1990). However, instead of choosing two bound morphemes, 3rd person singular *-s*, and plural *-s*, as in Urano (1998), I chose one bound morpheme, 3rd person singular *-s*, and the definite article *the*, as in VanPatten (1990). Therefore, the frequency of each of these three items, key lexical item *caffeine*, the definite article *the*, and the 3rd person singular morpheme, *-s*, was controlled to occur 15 times during the whole passage.

The participants were randomly assigned to perform one of the four listening tasks. Task I consisted of listening to the passage only for the content. Task II consisted of listening to the passage for content and simultaneously noting the key lexical item *caffeine*. Task III consisted of listening to the passage for content and simultaneously noting the definite article *the*. Task IV consisted of listening to it for content and simultaneously noting the 3rd person singular morpheme *-s*.

One of the most difficult questions was how to operationalize learners' noting of each item. Although some criticisms have been raised about the way Van Patten (1990) adopted the procedure of having the subjects make a hash mark whenever they noted a target item, due to the fact that it may have required more attentional resources than needed just to notice the form, it is extremely challenging to operationalize learners' conscious attention as demonstrable to the experimenter without adding an extra load to it, which is required in the process of operationalizing it. Therefore, the same measure used in VanPatten (1990) was adopted again in this study to operationalize learners' conscious attention to each form. As in VanPatten, in order to reduce the additional attention load for the task of writing check marks itself as much as possible, the subjects were told that they could make a mark anywhere on the paper of whatever shape and not to worry about marking itself.

The subjects were told that the comprehension of the passage was going to be assessed after they completed the task of listening and noting the item. Their comprehension was assessed by free written recalls in Korean. They were told to write down in their first language (Korean) anything and everything that they could remember from the passage after listening to it. Considering that the length of the passage was insufficient, free written recall was preferred to a multiple-choice comprehension test as a measure of assessing comprehension, in that it can reflect the extent of learner's paying attention to the passage to a more fine-grained degree of measure. The recall process has been proved as a valid measurement for reading comprehension (Lee, 1986) and also for listening comprehension (VanPatten, 1987). Before the passage was played, the subjects were told that it was about recent findings from research on caffeine.

In terms of scoring the written protocols, quantity of information was stressed. The protocols were scored using idea unit analysis. The original passage was divided into 71 idea units based on syntactic and semantic features (See Appendix 1). The recalls were scored for the total number of units they contained. To obtain reliability in scoring, the protocols were scored by two independent raters. After completing the first 10 % of the scoring, the two raters met to discuss the results with each other, and in the process of comparing the results, a few different perspectives were discussed and one reasonable standard was agreed upon. After the two raters finish scoring the whole protocols, interrater reliability was calculated, the result of which was .89.

Results

Noting Morphemes

Table 1 displays the mean number of morphemes noted by the subjects in each task. Clearly, task II (noting the lexical item) shows the highest score, followed by task IV (noting *-s*), and task III (noting *the*). In terms of the number of morphemes noticed, subjects were told that those which did not meet the criterion of a certain number of occurrence markings would not be included in the data analysis. Therefore, they were advised to pay close attention to the form they were required to notice. After examining the data, the criterion was set at seven.

Table 1. Number of Morphemes Noticed (k=15).

	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>
caf	5	14.0000
The	5	9.6000
S	5	11.0000
Total	15	11.5333

Table 2. ANOVA for Number of Morphemes Noticed.

	<i>Sum of Squares</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Mean Square</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
Between Groups	50.533	2	25.267	3.927*	.049
Within Groups	77.200	12	6.433		
Total	127.733	14			

Table 3: Multiple Comparisons

(I) GRP	(J) GRP	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
caf	the	4.4000	1.604	.054	-5.8723E-02	8.8587
	s	3.0000	1.604	.258	-1.4587	7.4587
The	caf	-4.4000	1.604	.054	-8.8587	5.872E-02
	s	-1.4000	1.604	1.000	-5.8587	3.0587
S	caf	-3.0000	1.604	.258	-7.4587	1.4587
	the	1.4000	1.604	1.000	-3.0587	5.8587

As shown in Table 2, the ANOVA indicated significant differences between groups: $F(2)=3.927$. As can be seen in Table 3, the difference in mean scores between task II of noting key word *caffeine* and task III of noting the definite article *the*, approached statistically significant level (.054), but this was not the case with the difference between task II and task IV of noting the 3rd person singular morpheme *-s*. Thus, hypothesis 1) received somewhat mixed support from this study. Although task II, noting the key lexical item, obtained the highest mean score, only the difference between task II and task III was statistically significant, but not with task IV, noting bound morpheme *-s*.

Comprehension Test

The results of the comprehension assessment are displayed in Table 4 and Figure 1, showing the linear order of $T1 > T2 > T4 > T3$. The result of ANOVA (Table 5) shows a statistically significant difference between these mean scores: $F(3)=4.815$, $p < 0.05$. A closer examination (Table 6) shows that this significant difference was mostly due to the difference between task I (content) and task III (*the*) and in small part also to the comparison between task I (content) and task IV (*-s*), the difference between which approached significance ($\text{sig.} = 0.064$).

Table 4. Mean Recall Scores by Task.

	Task I	Task II	Task III	Task IV
Mean	20.70	15.60	8.50	10.50

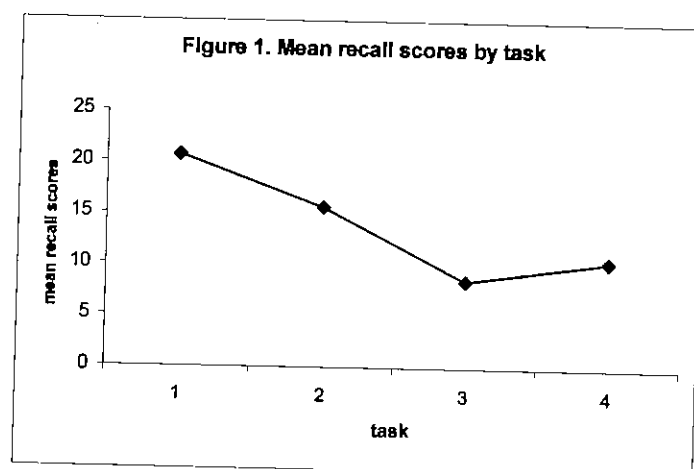


Table 5. ANOVA for Recall Scores.

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F
Between Groups	449.138	3	149.713	4.815*
Within Groups	497.500	16	31.094	
Total	946.638	19		

P<0.05

Table 6. Multiple Comparisons of Recall Scores

(I) GRP	(J) GRP	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval	
				Lower Bound	Upper Bound
content	Caf	5.1000	3.527	-5.5094	15.7094
	The	12.2000*	3.527	1.5906	22.8094
	S	10.2000	3.527	-.4094	20.8094
caf	Content	-5.1000	3.527	-15.7094	5.5094
	The	7.1000	3.527	-3.5094	17.7094
	S	5.1000	3.527	-5.5094	15.7094
the	Content	-12.2000*	3.527	-22.8094	-1.5906
	caf	-7.1000	3.527	-17.7094	3.5094
	S	-2.0000	3.527	-12.6094	8.6094
s	Content	-10.2000	3.527	-20.8094	.4094
	caf	-5.1000	3.527	-15.7094	5.5094
	The	2.0000	3.527	-8.6094	12.6094

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Based on these results, it can be said that hypothesis 2), that a task involving conscious attention to non-communicative grammatico-morphological forms in the input would negatively affect comprehension of input, was confirmed by showing that statistically significant differences existed between the scores of the control group and those of group III and IV. Hypothesis 3), that a task involving conscious attention to important lexical items would not affect comprehension of content was not confirmed since the results of statistical analysis showed that the mean difference between task II, and task III (*the*) and IV (*-s*) did not reach the relevant significance level, although the mean score on task II was clearly higher than those on task III and IV.

Discussion

An interesting point that needs more discussion is the comparison between Task III and Task IV. In VanPatten's (1990) study, task III (noting the definite article *la*) obtained a higher mean score than task IV (noting of verb morpheme *-n*), particularly in the advanced learner group, which was speculated to be due to the fact that definite articles resemble lexical items, whereas bound morphemes do not. In contrast, the present study demonstrates the higher mean score for task IV (noting bound morpheme *-s*) than for task III (noting definite article *the*). The reason for these different results between the two studies can be explained in two ways. First, a more acoustic approach suggests that the phonological salience of Spanish definite article *la*, which is clearly stronger than that of English definite article *the* may be one of the reasons for the different ordering, together with the relatively stronger phonetic salience of English verb morpheme */-s/* than that of Spanish verb morpheme */-n/*. Another speculation is that considering the possibility that sometimes the subjects marked the occurrence of the target item based on their guessing from grammatical context, the fact that the usage of articles is the most challenging part of grammar for Korean learners of English, even for advanced learners, whereas the 3rd person singular occurs in a very clear grammatical context, may have contributed to the higher score of task IV, noting 3rd person singular morpheme.

The result of hypothesis 3) also needs more discussion. The statistical analysis did not confirm hypothesis 3). Despite the obvious difference in mean scores, the difference was not large enough to reach statistical significance. It can be speculated that the reason why the difference emerged between the scores of the control group and those of other tasks of noting non-communicative grammatico-morphological forms was not found between those of task II (*caffeine*) and those of task III nor task IV, had something to do with the criticism that making hash mark itself competed for attentional capacity. In other words, the difference between control group task and task II is not just whether they have to notice the lexical item or not, but rather that the operationalization of noticing itself might have made a greater contribution to the difference of processing load between task I and task II.

Furthermore, the attentional load required to notice the word *caffeine* and make a check mark could be much different from that of noticing a new lexical item in actual communication. In the latter case, what happens is that an indecipherable cluster of phonemes trigger learners' attention to this unknown word since it becomes a block for comprehending the online message. In the former, learners are alerting themselves to wait and catch a specific lexical item to which they are orienting their attention even before the lexical item comes up in the message.

Conclusion

This study's findings were consistent with those of VanPatten (1990). It is hard for second language learners to pay attention to non-communicative grammatico-morphological forms while they are engaged in processing input for meaning. This result also confirms the classic view in psychology that attention is a limited capacity. (Broadbent, 1958; Kahneman, 1973). Combined with the discussion on the role of consciousness in second language acquisition, the findings of this study have important implications. If attention is needed to acquire some grammatical features of second language, and if it is difficult for second language learners themselves to pay attention to the grammatical features on their own, particularly when they are engaged in processing input for meaning, some kind of pedagogical intervention or effort to draw learners' attention to language as object will be necessary. Therefore, this can be presented as solid justification for such pedagogical proposals (Schmidt, 1995) as consciousness-raising (Fotos, 1993; Sharwood-Smith, 1981), input enhancement (Alanen, 1995; Sharwood-Smith, 1993), and focus on form (Doughty & Williams, 1998; Long, 1991).

Another important implication is that if the purpose of a lesson is to help language learners acquire certain grammatical features, it should be kept in mind that when designing activities, the informational content should be as easy as can be processed at little or no cost to attentional resources so that it is possible to release part of learners' attention for focus on form (Van Patten, 1992). The difficulty of the task itself should also be considered and modulated according to the relevant purposes of each lesson.

Although this study obtained some of statistically significant results, the small sample size makes any generalization beyond just supporting evidence of VanPatten's (1990) previous findings tenuous. At least 30 subjects in each group would be necessary to make a valid statistical inference (Brown, 1988). Another drawback of this study is the possibility that the proficiency level for each group may not have been equal, since the criteria for subjects' proficiency was only a minimum TOEFL score 600. Random assignment within more fine-grained criteria is necessary for future research.

Considering its important theoretical and pedagogical implications, I suggest that more research in this line should be conducted, and if possible, with more sophisticated methodological precision to operationalize learners attention.

NOTES

1. Evidence for this can be found in the following sentences quoted from Krashen (1985 p. 4): "When the filter is 'down' and appropriate comprehensible input is presented (and comprehended), acquisition is inevitable. ... the language '*mental organ*' will function just as automatically as any other organ." In the original text, this quotation is followed by the quote from Chomsky, who maintains figuratively that the development of language ability is analogous to the development of other physical skills of human beings such as visual ability

2. A previous version of this study has appeared as VanPatten (1989) in *Hispania*, the journal of the American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese. But in this paper, I will just refer to VanPatten (1990) consistently.

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Appendix 1

1. Idea unit analysis for the listening passage
2. A recent study has confirmed
3. sponsored by the National Institute on Drug Abuse
4. what many people already believe
5. caffeine is addictive
6. Dr. Roland Griffiths and Dr. Eric Strain published their latest study
7. from the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine in Baltimore
8. in *The Journal of the American Medical Association*.
9. According to Dr. Griffiths
10. "Caffeine is the world's most widely used mind-altering drug,"
11. a substance that changes a person's state of mind.
12. This study is the first to prove
13. that some people can become dependent on caffeine.
14. he says
15. In the U.S
16. over 80 percent of
17. adults consume caffeine in some form
18. such as coffee, soda and chocolate.
19. Each day,
20. the average adult takes caffeine
21. in approximately 280 milligrams of
22. the amount found in about two large cups of coffee.
23. At this level of consumption,
24. caffeine tends to have a positive effect.
25. Recent research has shown that
26. a small amount of caffeine enhances alertness, well-being, energy, motivation and concentration.
27. In higher doses,
28. however, caffeine can produce negative effects
29. such as anxiety and nervousness.
30. But according to Dr. Griffiths,
31. these negative effects are not a serious health threat.
32. In fact, when compared to other addictive substances,
33. such as alcohol or nicotine,
34. caffeine is relatively less harmful.
35. Dr. Griffiths points out that
36. there is a distinction between physical dependence on a substance and actual addiction.
37. While many people say
38. they are addicted to caffeine,
39. Dr. Griffiths says
40. most of them are only physically dependent on it.
41. In other words,
42. they will suffer withdrawal symptoms,
43. such as laziness and headache,
44. if they stop using it.
45. Dr. Griffiths claims that
46. actual addiction brings about a much more serious condition.
47. An addicted person tends to exhibit anti-social behavior.

48. In order to be considered a true addict,
49. a person must meet four criteria.
50. These criteria are:
51. Gradual development of a tolerance to the effects of the substance
52. (that is, more and more of it must be consumed
53. to produce the same effect).
54. Withdrawal symptoms when the substance is no longer consumed.
55. Persistent use of the substance
56. even if it causes or increases medical problems.
57. Repeated failed attempts to stop using the substance.
58. "Most coffee or soda drinkers can give up caffeine
59. if they try,"
60. says Dr. Griffiths. "
61. Therefore, they are not fully addicted to caffeine."
62. However, some of these people, will probably experience unpleasant physical effects
63. when they stop using caffeine.
64. about five percent of them
65. And here is a piece of advice
66. for those who want to stop their caffeine habit.
67. Dr. Griffiths suggests that
68. you do not quit all at once.
69. Instead, gradually decrease your caffeine use,
70. reducing its amount
71. little by little each day.
72. he says
73. SOURCES: <<http://lrs.ed.uiuc.edu/Impact/Articles/Caffeine/Caffeine.html>> and others.

OVERPASSIVIZATION BY ADVANCED CHINESE LEARNERS OF ENGLISH: A REPLICATION OF JU'S (2000) STUDY

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ABSTRACT

"Overpassivization" seems to be a frequent error in L2 learners' output. Although theories have been trying to explain this phenomenon, Ju argued that cognitive factors should also be taken into consideration. The present study is a replication of Ju's (2000) study. By modifying several aspects of Ju's study, the present study successfully demonstrated that advanced Chinese learners of English tended to make more mistakes in unaccusatives with externally caused events than internally caused event. Also the most significant finding of the present study is to show that learners also made more mistake in unaccusatives with transitive counterparts than those without, a phenomenon that Ju's study failed to show.

Introduction

For L2 researchers and language teachers, among the many language-learning errors that L2 learners make, one of them is "overpassivization," a term coined by language researchers to describe a subset of intransitive verbs which should be used actively but are incorrectly passivized. Examples are like the following:

1. *The accident was happened yesterday.
2. *The rock was rolled down the hill very quickly.

This subset of intransitive verbs is called unaccusative. Examples of unaccusatives being passivized have attracted the interest of many researchers (Balcom 1997, Belletti 1988, Han 2000, Levin & Rappaport Horav 1995, Zobl 1989). For L2 learners, learning unaccusatives may be confusing because they share some characteristics with the passives. When forming passive sentences, learners are required to shift the object to the subject position, a rule that unaccusatives also ask learners to do. Moreover, both of passives and unaccusatives are intransitives on the surface and have nonagentive, or patient-role, subjects (Yip 1990). Partly due to the high resemblance between passives and unaccusatives, learners have a hard time figuring out their differences.

Unaccusative Hypothesis:

Perlmutter (1978) proposed the unaccusative hypothesis, describing the difference between two classes of intransitive verbs, namely unaccusatives and unergatives. Syntactically, they resemble other intransitive verbs in that they subcategorize for a single argument generally on the surface as the subject. Semantically, these verbs describe changes of state and processes that lack volitional control on the part of the subject. Examples of volitional control and lack of volitional control are given below:

- | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------|
| A. I eat dinner early. | (transitive) |
| B. I eat early. | (transitive) |
| C. I boiled the water. | (intransitive) |
| D. The water boiled. | (unaccusative/ergative) |

Furthermore, the passivization of unaccusatives seems to be a universal problem (Ju 2000, Kellerman 1979, Yip 1995 and Hirakawa 1995). Learners from a wide variety of background appear to reject the use of nonagent subjects for unaccusatives. Chinese, Dutch, etc, all show the tendency to passivize unaccusatives. In addition to being influenced by their first languages, several theories have been trying to explain the emergence of overpassivization. Ever since the introduction of the unaccusative hypothesis, a wide range of phenomena in various languages have been studied that try to decode the overpassivization phenomenon. Levin & Rappaport Horav (1995) termed this kind of trend "unaccusative diagnostics."

Transitivization Hypothesis:

Based on the observation of Chinese learners' overpassivization on unaccusatives, Yip (1990) proposed the transitivization hypothesis as an explanation to decode the problem. She assumed that learners interpret unaccusatives as seemingly transitive verbs, and thus are confused by the similarities. Yip (1995) further categorized unaccusatives into "unpaired" and "paired." Unpaired group refers to unaccusatives without transitive counterparts and paired group refers to unaccusatives with counterparts. The overpassivization of unaccusatives involves a subset-superset relation. L2 learners tend to generate a superset grammar system, which includes passives rules and ungrammatical unaccusatives, such as "be fallen" and "be died." Yip (1995) thought that since the passive is very common in English, it is plausible for L2 learners to adopt the hypothesis: to mark the unaccusative with passive morphology when they see the object is in the subject position. In addition, Yip (1995) also cited examples to support his arguments that learners treat unaccusatives as transitives: add objects to unaccusatives and then passive them.

The NP movement Hypothesis:

Zobl (1989), however, rejected the transitivization hypothesis. The sizable corpus of data collected contains not a single instance of such an overgeneralization (Zobl, p. 217). He argued that learners in his corpus did not show the trait of moving objects to the subject position. The responses also supported Marantz's study (1984) and made Zobl rule out the possibility that the unaccusatives and the transitive lexical forms are derived from one form. Instead, Zobl argued that unaccusatives are more likely to be subsumed under passives.

The single argument structure that Zobl assumed is:

[[V NP]]

Learners seem to acquire a lexical rule by which the postverbal NP is moved to the subject position. Once they learn the passive rule, the lexical rule is subsumed under it.

Ju's Cognitive Factors Hypothesis:

Both the theories of transitivization and NP movement did not take into account the different behavior of verbs in the same class (Ju 2000). According to a study that he did in 1997, there was a striking discrepancy among accusatives in terms of accuracy of judgment on ungrammatically passivized unaccusatives (p.90). The different rate of error production prompted Ju to question the validity of both transitivization and the NP movement, and to form an additional factor underlying overpassivization.

Ju's argument was related to the perception of agentivity in the sentences. He demonstrated in his study that with the variation in the availability of conceptualizable agent, learners passivize accusatives with external causations more than those with internal causations. Two pairs of sentences illustrate his argument:

- A1 A fighter jet shot at the ship.
The ship sank slowly.
- A2 The rusty old ship started breaking up.
The ship sank slowly. (p.92)

The second sentences in these two pairs of sentences are identical, but the first sentences in the pairs are different in that one is externally caused by an inferable agent, as in A1; the other is internally caused by the agent not so apparent, as in A2. In addition, the verb "sink" belongs to the class of verbs with transitive counterpart. Thus, Ju also tried to show the variation among accusative with transitive counterparts and those without.

Ju deliberately chose advanced Chinese speakers as the L1 group as subjects to test his hypotheses for two reasons. For one reason, Chinese use the active form in unaccusatives too. Besides, his subjects were all advanced learners of English and should be familiar with the passive rules in English.

Limitation of Ju's Study:

Generally speaking, Ju's study was quite well conducted. However, some minor parts are still subject to question. First, the subjects of Ju's study, claiming to be "advanced" Chinese learners of English, seemed questionable. Despite the fact that the definition of "advanced learners" is subjective to researchers, it is surprising to learn that 5 out of 31 subjects in Ju's study made errors on the word "grow." It might be plausible that those "advanced" learners accepted sentences like "I was grown up." If this is the case, then the subjects' English proficiency was highly questionable because even for Chinese, they use the active form, instead of the passive voice, to structure the sentence. Furthermore, the verb "grow" or this sentence is taught at the very beginning of English education and is heard all the time. Under the high frequency of input and output, it is hard to believe that learners made a mistake like this, especially when they were "advanced" learners of English. Second the difficulty level of all the verbs in the test varied greatly. Take "grow" and "turn" for example. In Chinese, these two verbs are used actively and students learn them from the very beginning of English education. It is natural that Ju's subjects had a lower rate of selecting the wrong answer. Thus, if the different input of each unaccusative had affected the result greatly, Ju's conclusion will not be all that convincing. Although it is very hard to derive the input of every unaccusative in learners, some easy words should have been avoided for this sake.

Third, there was a sharp difference in number between unaccusatives with transitive counterparts and those without. There might be more unaccusatives with transitives than those without. However, a large difference in number might call into question his study, as well.

Purpose of the present study:

The present study was a replication of Ju's study with some modifications. The purpose was to reexamine the cognitive factors advocated by Ju. The modifications were as follows:

1. Subjects with higher homogeneity.
2. Revise the test with more difficult unaccusatives.
3. Provide more unaccusatives without transitive counterparts.
4. The following questions were investigated:
5. Do the cognitive factors really play a role in overpassivization?
6. Does the revised study help to reflect the overpassivization better?
7. Is there any difference between unaccusatives with or without transitive counterparts?

Method

Subjects

The subjects in this study were 48 freshmen in the Department of English at the National Taiwan Normal University. A majority of subjects admitted into the program through either the English Advanced student system or the English Gifted student system. These students had grammar training for at least six years before they were admitted into college and would receive advanced grammar training in college again. Thus both their grammar knowledge of passive rules and the homogeneity of student proficiency were ensured.

Design

A revised forced-choice test was designed for this study (please see Appendix I). There were 60 test items. In each test item, there were two sentences, with the first one containing either an externally or internally caused agent. In the second sentence, the verb was replaced by a blank, following by two forms of verbs in the parentheses, one being active, and the other being passive. Examples are like the following:

1. It rained only for ten minutes. The sky (cleared/was cleared) very soon.
2. The wind blew strongly. The sky (cleared/was cleared) very soon.

A total of 23 unaccusatives were chosen, 14 with transitive counterparts and 9 without. Since this study was a replication of Ju's study, some of the unaccusatives were taken from his word list. However, to avoid some

easy unaccusatives that learners might have more input than others, easy unaccusatives were taken out, mostly the ones with lower rate of errors, and were replaced with unaccusatives more difficult.

After the completion of the unaccusative list, externally and internally caused sentences were created for each unaccusative and thus there were 46 items. Unaccusatives taken from Ju's study had the same sentences in the present study. There were 14 distracters, all regular verbs, which served to test if learners had a solid understanding of passives. As in Ju's study, all the distracting sentences were made to resemble the unaccusatives. All in all, there were 60 test items. The comparison of number of sentences between the two studies are provided as follows:

Group	Agent type	Number of sentences	
		Ju's study	Present study
[+transitive]	Externally caused	13	14
	Internally caused	13	14
[-transitive]	Externally caused	5	9
	Internally caused	5	9
Distracters		18	14
Total Number		54	60

Table 1: The comparison of sentence numbers between the two studies

In addition to that, the test was also given to 5 native speakers to see if their answers converged on all sentences. Their answers served as the basis for correcting the test.

Procedure

At the beginning of the test, subjects were asked to provide basic background information before they started the test. After reading the first sentence, they were required to circle the grammatically correct form out of the two possible choices. The test was given at the duration of one regular class time, which was about 50 minutes.

Results:

The results of the present study can be presented as the following tables:

Condition	Number of sentences		Mean number of errors per learner		Percentage incorrect	
	Present study	Ju's study	Present study	Ju's study	Present study	Ju's study
+T, E	14	13	7.94	5.19	57%	40%
+T, I	14	13	2.81	2.39	20%	18%
-T, E	9	5	3.63	2.06	40%	41%
-T, I	9	5	1.67	0.79	19%	19%

Table 2: The comparison of results between the present study and Ju's study

	Ju's study	The present study
Mean number of errors in +transitive	18.1%	36.8%
Mean number of errors in -transitive	18.8%	28.2%

Table 3: Unaccusatives with transitive counterparts vs. those without

Discussion

Both the semantic and pragmatic knowledge appeared to have played a role in the learners' choice of passivization as. As Ju said, "the fact that the degree of saliency or directness of causation varies depending on contexts and on how the contexts are construed in the speaker's semantic representation may explain why overpassivization occurs even in internally caused events" (p.102).

The mean number of errors on distracters in Ju's study was 0.9. Compared with Ju's study, the mean number of errors on distracters in the present study is 0.7. The number shows that the subjects of the present study had better knowledge of passivization and could represent the advanced Chinese learners of English as a whole more than the subjects in Ju's study.

	Present study	Ju's study
+T, E	27.2	12.3
+T, I	9.6	5.7
-T, E	19.3	12.8

Table 4: Mean number of errors per unaccusatives

Has the intentional re-selection of unaccusatives worked? The answer is yes. Judging from Table 2 and Table 4, the effect of overpassivization seemed to be even more obvious in the present study than in Ju's study. The mean number of errors per accusatives with transitives has more than doubled when compared with those in Ju's study. If the subjects in the present study displayed a better understanding of the passive rules but had a higher rate of overpassivizing unaccusatives, we then have more confidence in believing that their overpassivization was caused under the influence of either external or internal factors. Actually, even for [+T, I], [-T, E] or [-T, I], the mean number of errors per accusative in the present study had better results than those in Ju's study as well.

Also from Table 2 and 4, the externally caused sentences have much higher acceptance rates for advanced Chinese learners than those internally caused. In the present study, the difference rate between externally caused and internally caused groups in [+transitive] is 37% and 21% for [-transitive]. The result clearly showed the tendency for learners to passivize unaccusatives more in externally caused events than in internally caused events. In other words, under the context of a conceivable agent, they feel more secure to passivize unaccusatives. The present study produced a much sharper difference between the externally caused sentences and the internally caused sentences. In other words, the present study was more convincing in arguing that cognitive factors play a role in overpassivization.

The most significant finding of the present study is to see the difference between [+transitive] and [-transitive]. From Ju's study, there was no difference between unaccusatives with transitive counterpart and those without. However, in the present study, there was a difference. As Table 3 shows, there is higher rate of errors in unaccusatives with counterparts than those without, thus confirming that learners tended to make more mistakes in unaccusative with transitive counterparts. This finding might also suggest that learners might treat unaccusatives as transitive verbs, thus supporting transitivity hypothesis.

Conclusion & Implications

As Levin & Rappaport Horav (1995) stated, "Since the Unaccusativity Hypothesis claims that the two classes of intransitive verbs are syntactically defined, it appeals to the difference in syntactic configuration to explain many of the diagnostics that reveal differences in behavior between the classes" (p.4). Even though each of them are quite convincing in terms of offering explanations to the overpassivization, there are some limitations in either of them. Ju's cognitive factors in supplying an explanation to bridge the gap left by the syntactic and semantic theories offer insights into the puzzle and is also reconfirmed valuable by the present study.

As Ju (2000) said that the findings of his study partially supported the transitivization hypothesis that learners view unaccusatives as transitives especially when an external agent is available. Table 3 in the present study also provided evidence to support Yip's argument that advanced learners did show this tendency.

In sum, modifying several aspects of Ju's study, the present study should serve as a follow-up study to Ju's study and has successfully demonstrated that (1) cognitive factors play an important role in overpassivization, (2) learners tend to make more mistakes in externally caused events than in internally caused events, (3) learners tend to make more mistakes in unaccusatives with transitive counterparts than those without. For language teachers, especially teachers for Chinese speakers, this study might help to explain learners' errors and thus come up with some solutions to cope with this problem.

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Appendix I:

Dear participants,

Please circle the grammatically correct answer out of the two choices.

Your response will remain confidential and will be used for research studies only.

Thank you!

Age: _____

Gender: Male _____ Female _____

Type of student: 聯招生 _____ 推甄生 _____ 資優生 _____

What year are you in? Freshman _____, Sophomore _____, Junior _____ Senior _____

- The rock became loose. It (rolled/was rolled) quickly down the hill.
 It rained only for ten minutes. The sky (cleared/was cleared) very soon.
 Mike held a party. Many people (invited/were invited) to the party.
 The thief made a hole on the wall. The light (leaked/was leaked) out immediately.
 The wooden bridge was very old. It (broke/was broken) gradually.
 He made a new discovery. His discovery (resounded/was resounded) through the world immediately.
 The relationship between the two parties got from bad to worse. The disputes (multiplied/were multiplied) very fast.
 The two parties made a compromise with each other. The gap (narrowed/was narrowed) gradually.
 Susan told a scary story. Her children (shocked/were shocked) completely.
 The fog cleared. The house (appeared/was appeared) slowly.
 A ball fell from a bag. It (bounced/was bounced) up and down a few times.
 The magician did a trick with a coin. The coin (vanished/was vanished) instantly.
 I walked through the automatic door. The door (closed/was closed) immediately.
 The police were called in to remove a strange package. The package (disappeared/was disappeared) immediately.
 I boiled the soup. The taste of the soup (changed/was changed) slowly.
 There were some fish left in the yard. The fish (dried/was dried) fast.
 The door was open. The light (leaked/was leaked) out immediately.
 The police were searching for a jewelry box thrown into the river. The box (emerged/was emerged) suddenly.
 Heavy trucks put more and more pressure on the bridge. It (broke/was broken) gradually.
 The little boy tried to pull his toy house out of the sand. The house (appeared/was appeared) slowly.
 A car slid off the road and a package fell from the car into the lake. The package (disappeared/was disappeared) immediately.
 I hit the tennis ball. It (bounced/was bounced) up and down a few times.
 I pushed the door. The door (closed/was closed) immediately.
 The soup was not kept in the refrigerator. The taste of the soup (changed/was changed) slowly.
 Last night was very cold. The water (froze/was frozen) quickly.
 The fishermen used the heater. The fish (dried/were dried) fast.
 Tom finished writing the book. It (published/was published) immediately.
 I came closer to the heater. The snow (melted/was melted) quickly.
 I like the way he portrayed our campus. The campus (portrayed/was portrayed) beautifully.
 Mary read a sad story. Her eyes (filled/were filled) with tears quickly.
 The garbage collector arrived. The garbage (collected/was collected) cleanly.
 I bought two books. One of them (returned/was returned) the next day.
 He always had bad dreams. The event (recurred/was recurred) constantly.
 The mechanic fixed the car. The car (drove/was driven) away immediately.
 It has been a long time after their disputes. The gap (narrowed/was narrowed) gradually over time.
 The wind blew strongly. The sky (cleared/was cleared) very soon.
 Steve was moving a desk. It (damaged/was damaged) during the move.
 God created four seasons. The four seasons (rotate/are rotated) year by year.
 The project was not going very well. The project (halted/was halted) gradually.
 The terrorists used gas bombs to disperse the crowd. The crowd (scattered/ was scattered) very soon.
 I pushed the rock slightly. It (rolled/ was rolled) quickly down the hill.

Rose' parents gave her a lot of pressure. She (married/was married) Vincent finally.
Tom spread rumors between the two parties. The disputes (multiplied/were multiplied) very fast.
He told his new discovery to the whole world. His discovery (resounded/was resounded) through the world immediately.
We made some food. The food (stored/was stored) in the fridge.
He needed to rely on drugs. A vague uneasiness (possessed/was possessed) him totally.
He did not waste any piece of paper. Paper (recycled/was recycled) very often.
The speaker inspired John in many ways. A great idea (arose/was arisen) in his mind very soon.
She wrote a thank-you letter to her teacher. The letter (mailed/was mailed) immediately.
He fought in the war. A scar (left/was left) on his forehead.
The professor told him an accident. The event (recurred/was recurred) constantly.
John was always very smart. A great idea (arose/was arisen) in his mind very soon.
The government reduced the funds of the project year by year. The project (halted/was halted) gradually.
The movie drew to an end at last. The crowd (scattered/ was scattered) very soon.
The magician did a trick to a jewelry box hidden in his hat. The box (emerged/was emerged) suddenly.
I lowered the temperature of the refrigerator. The water (froze/was frozen) quickly.
A coin fell into the mud. It (vanished/was vanished) instantly.
The smell of the onions stimulated Mary's eyes. Her eyes (filled/were filled) with tears quickly.
The weather became mild. The snow (melted/was melted) quickly.
There are four seasons in a year. The four seasons (rotate/are rotated) year by year.

V. English

TO AND FRO IN SHADOW: *NOT I*

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ABSTRACT

This essay describes how Samuel Beckett carefully orders the theatrical elements, including setting or lack thereof, of his short one-act play, *Not I*, to transform text—a series of signs—to active communication that effectively alters the viewer's metaphysical and intellectual understanding of "self" by using the unwritten symbols of Dark and Mouth both metaphorically and metonymically to evoke an awareness of the intense isolation necessary for the emergence of a "self" that knows the impossibility of singular existence at the very moment that existence is recognized.

When I first saw *Not I* performed, I was alone in an empty theatre, sitting to the back, lucky enough to be watching a run-through of the entire play. Without the reassurance of other bodies breathing and coughing, I was perhaps more intensely conscious of the intentional isolation of visual metaphor on the stage and of my own peculiarly transformative response to that isolation, but I trusted that response as real. After the voice had ceased, I sat alone in the dark, my mind racing, aware perhaps for the first time that "I" was not "me," that the only "self" I could claim was the communicative energy I had just experienced as activity—outside my body and moving away from any identity that I had previously thought mine. I still trust that response. Now, every time I see *Not I* performed, either on video or on the stage, I collide with the same feeling of being in the presence of the unspeakably sublime that I felt that late afternoon in 1972.

When played on stage, *Not I* requires a nearly naked and unnaturally dark stage set that bleeds into the undisguised dark of the auditorium. The solitary actress is cloaked, boxed, and elevated above the black painted stage with only her mouth opening and closing, cleanly and clearly, against the dark, teeth visible and disturbingly white, lit by a single spotlight. Located downstage from the Mouth, a tall figure, the Listener, cloaked from head to toe in black, hands and face covered with fabric, stands also elevated above the stage platform. This wordless figure is turned obliquely from the audience so that s/he may look directly on the moving Mouth. Both figures are fixed with an uncomfortable permanence to the stage and the space between them vibrates with an electric absence.

Even before the first word was spoken that afternoon in the emptied theatre, I was overwhelmed by an awareness of loneliness so acute that it felt as if attached to my skin with invisible barbs. I was both separated yet incomprehensibly linked to the two fixed figures on the stage—the cloaked standing shadow man and the moving Mouth. I felt the weight of the space between performers and empty seats settle as marked distance on my spine. My bones itched, and by the end of the performance, my mind was melting as if thawed by unexpected winter warmth. I was as speechless as the solitary Mouth had been overrun with rapid overflow of words. In less than one-half hour, I had collided with a complete life compressed into an explosive energy that, when released, flooded the surrounding dark and entered my every pore. Somehow, that released life belonged with me but not to me.

Today, nearly thirty years later, I can think about *Not I* as separated from that volley of silence and word I felt that afternoon, and try to understand how Beckett carefully ordered his play to transform text—a series of signs—to unfailing agency and how he used the unwritten symbols of Dark and Mouth both metaphorically and metonymically to evoke an awareness of the intense isolation necessary for the emergence of a "self" that knows the impossibility of its own existence at the very moment that existence is recognized. Stripped of excess and filed to sparseness, *Not I* unveils the painful yet exquisite core of human experience: the knowledge that the very characteristic that grants human beings their unique position on the planet—the singular ability to identify the "self" as separate, thinking, and individual—is, after all is said and done, an artificial construction. To abandon possession of the "self" as a marker of being human is to lose a sense of grounding, but if at the same time that the "self" as possessed "self" disintegrates, we also discover ourselves as connected to others, we then find new moorings more various and numerous that are, ultimately, more stable and useful.

Watching *Not I*, we are disconnected from the conventional and the familiar and as a consequence, we become hyper-sensitive to our need for connections; our minds substitute the desired for that which has been preternaturally removed. Using the power inherent both in the confrontation of opposites (silence against sound, light against dark) and in the representation of isolation (mouth separated from body, viewer separated by dark from conventional response), Beckett focuses our awareness of multiple connections. We hunger for human interaction because the lack of activity on stage denies us such interaction. We are conscious of presence because of absence, sense light because we are in the dark, and feel our bodies because the Mouth on stage has lost its frame.

Accepting these transformative substitutions based on the experience of seeing the play is easy, but analyzing *how* the transformation occurs is another story. I believe that Beckett crosses and “folds” visual metaphor into verbal metonym in a manner that Roman Jakobsen recognizes with his theories concerning both binary opposition and metaphoric/metonymic competition as essential to effective poetic communication. Roman Jakobsen suggests that we have a tendency to analyze imagery and meaning using either metaphor or metonym, deciding whether “the symbols and the temporal sequences used are based on contiguity . . . or on similarity” (95) and further suggests that the poetic function of language is foregrounded when metaphoric dimensions are projected on—and somehow entangled with—metonymic functions. I would agree, and I would also suggest that the most effective art, such as Beckett’s *Not I*, depends on such dynamic intersection of metaphor with metonymy for an effective delivery of transformative message. This “folding” of metaphor and metonym dissolves the expected and juxtaposes the unexpected, and we respond emotionally and intellectually to both metaphoric and metonymic substitutions without privileging either, thus entering into a fresh philosophical dialogue unimpeded by conventional expectation either of cause and effect or of plot design.

Both metaphor and metonymy construct meaning through an imaginative reconstruction of the familiar world, and both require a trust of psycho-social and historical signifiers within the language, but as a conceptual process that uses likeness or analogy between actual object and its signifier, metaphor is perhaps more visually oriented than metonymy¹. Because of its associative quality, defining (often through cause and effect) logical relationships between objects, metonymy includes time—and the vagaries of time—as an essential element in the construction of new meaning (Scholes 20). If we consider metaphor and metonymy thusly, we understand how the Mouth both as a metaphor for sexual orifices and as a synecdoche for the human body can serve as an icon for the producer and the consumer of words while simultaneously acting as a metonymy for the ongoing processes of entry and exit, birth and death. Such an intersection of metaphor with metonym alters the initial metaphor and causes conceptual and even metaphysical transformation.

Beckett’s dark theatre and black stage, for example, alarm us at first because such darkness metaphorically signifies death and dissolution. We are culturally aware of that particular metaphor, and instinctually, we feel threatened when we are abruptly confronted by such unyielding dark, but as the play progresses, the intrusion both of narrative voice and of the notion of time passing remind us of the metonymic significance of Dark both as night and as a necessary complement to light. By overlaying the paradigmatic functions of Dark as Death with the metonymic, or syntagmatic, function of Dark as Passage, the Mouth’s non-stop narration overrides the static and symbolic structuring of the stage set, permitting us to revise the visual metaphors for death and for isolation that confront us as the play begins. As the disconnected and slightly threatening Mouth discusses the ineffectiveness of light, the viewer turns to the Dark for comfort. The Mouth tells us that the moon comes and goes, “always shrouded” and that April morning is experienced with the Mouth’s disconnected “face in the grass.” Initial spoken “sudden flashes” are followed by the repetition of the word “foolish,” and the slant rhyme of “flash” and “foolish” erases, or at least confuses, any impulse to understand “sudden flash” as enlightening, so when later “sudden flashes” are followed by expressions of negativity—“even more awful,” “it can’t go on,” “not that either”—we accept this rejection of light in favor of the dark. Describing the Dark through the inadequacy of light highlights the metonymic functioning of Dark in *Not I* as positive and progressive, thus eroding the powerful and emotionally affective metaphor of Dark as Death.

When the Mouth tells us that words come like a sudden unexpected thaw in winter months during “days of darkness,” we understand intellectually that speech, and consequently poetry, is born not of gathered light but of gathered dark, and because that understanding comes at the very moment that we are physically experiencing the dark for the first time as embracing, rather than threatening, Mouth and Dark, essential to the visual setting of *Not I*, lose their ability to terrify. Another transformation of visual metaphor then occurs as the Mouth,

initially encountered as an isolated metaphor for sex (the vagina with teeth or the “mouth” of the anus), is transformed through the narration from menace to a symbol having a metonymic relationship with speech and thus with history. Grappling with its staged isolation as metaphoric threat, highlighted in darkness, the Mouth speaks to have its histories heard—by the dark, by the watchers in the dark beyond the fourth wall, and by the dark-dressed listener, standing yards away elevated on a platform just high enough to preclude any movement towards or away from the Mouth.

When those histories are heard, the visual metaphor recedes in importance as the verbal reasserts its power. Speech itself acquires its own metaphoric existence that projects neatly on its own metonymic agency. Signifying the gate between life and death, the portal of sex and verbal intercourse, when limits are erased, when silence gains volumes, when dark moves to light, the Mouth spills words in bursts as metaphoric of the “little death” of orgasm, primary for the continuance of life, as they are metonymic of poetry, that spontaneous overflow of powerful feeling, primary for the continuance of the creative life. Then, as the disconnected Mouth tells stories in floods of words collapsed into an all embracing dark, the stark misery of those stories told collides with the captured status of the voice, boxed and removed from human gesture. As a result of that confrontation, viewers inevitably experience a compassion birthed by an awareness of the obvious physical imprisonment of voice and of the psychological imprisonment of the incomplete narrated histories of isolation and abandonment. With the emergence of that compassion, the terrifying metaphor of mouth as toothed vagina is banished and an open embrace of the metonymic relationship of the Mouth to open passage occurs. Once again, metaphor folds into metonym, and a clear transformation occurs.

This transformation of metaphor—Dark as Death, Mouth as Dangerous Sex—through an intersection with metonymic function creates an open environment that permits that redefinition of the “self” that I experienced that late afternoon in 1972 when “I” shifted to “not I,” and I realized that I only existed because of my connectivity. *Not I* opens with the mouth forming words that cannot be heard, and we first see those moving lips as iconic of the human possessed of a “self” grounded by language. Isolated from both head and body, the Mouth serves both as a visual signifier of the “word”—an essential marker of the human—symbolizing speech as clearly as it symbolizes the human who speaks the words, but then, speaking in the Dark, the mouth is stripped of its metaphoric threat by its own narration. Listening, we are acutely conscious at first of ourselves as being isolated and in the dark, but when the narration shifts both Mouth and Dark from being zones of danger to being zones of comfort, we become aware of ourselves first as listeners, individuals, and then unexpectedly, as beings connected to Dark as Passage, Mouth as History. One repeatedly performed gesture, the raising and lowering of the silent Listener’s arms, accomplishes this transformation.

“What? . . . Who? . . . No . . . She!” the Mouth demands again and again, first acknowledging herself and then isolating herself in the third person as the generic “she.” That deliberate isolation nearly always draws a response from the on-stage Listener who raises and drops masked hands in a gesture of “helpless compassion,” suggesting the inevitability of setting aside the “I” in favor of the “she,” of moving from “self” to “unself” in order to discover the “self,” of knowing that the “self” exists neither as narrated nor remembered, and of knowing the utter surrender required to accomplish any of that. The single repeated gesture of the Listener interrupts the current of words, ceaselessly delivered by the Mouth, and that interruption reintroduces the palpable loneliness of the wordless opening of the play. Re-experiencing that loneliness as the mouth narrates a tale of moving from silence to speech focuses the audience on the “self” as separated exactly at the moment when an awareness emerges of the existence of “self” as dependent on communication, on being heard at a time when the “self” must move closer to the “unself” and recognize itself as wholly dependent for its existence on knowing not the “self,” but the space that exists between the “self” and others—the active space of creative communication.

In conversation with Morton Feldman, an American composer, Beckett once said that there was only “one theme in his life.” When pressed by Feldman to reveal that theme, Beckett wrote this on a musical score Feldman handed him: “To and fro in shadow, from outer shadow to inner shadow. To and fro, between unattainable self and unattainable non-self.” After scribbling those words, Beckett promised to write Feldman if he thought of anything he might add. Several weeks later, Feldman received a postcard with the following revision penciled on the back:

NEITHER

to and fro in shadow
 from inner to outer shadow
 from impenetrable self to impenetrable unself
 by way of neither (Knowlson 631-2)

The unattainable becomes the impenetrable, and the non-self becomes the unself while self and unself remain separated yet linked by their mutual essential “not”ness—not attainable, not penetrable, not in full light, not free of shadow, not stable. Always in motion, as trajectory, as agency, this struggling “self” of “Neither” resembles the self/unself of *Not I*. The Mouth of *Not I* moves rapidly from being mutely unconscious of self to an acute speaking awareness of Self. “What? . . . Who? . . . No . . . She!”

The possession of existence, the claiming of the “I,” is of no consequence whatsoever. What creates the Self may not be our ability to speak, to remember, to create stories, but rather the fact that to really speak—to really be ourselves—we must be understood by at least one other human being. When the Mouth speaks, it addresses no one except the watcher—inside the Dark and away from light, the real flesh and blood person, who can reply only with a gesture of helpless compassion.

Sometimes people whistle for no reason at all. Not I.
 Beckett *Molloy* (171)

NOTES

1. Harvard researcher Gerald Zaltman’s recent cognitive studies suggest that the deepest human thoughts are visual rather than verbal and further suggests that those essentially metaphoric thoughts are too often imperfectly translated to verbal communication (Eakin).

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